

XPOFERENS

John Smyth

Go: wmthwp

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U. S. Grant

A Lincoln

Source-Book of
American History



In the name of god amēr. we whose names are underwritten
the loyal subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord King James
by his grace of god, of great Britaine, frane, & Irelānd King
defendor of j faith, &c

Hauing underfēction, for the glōry of god, and advancement
of j christian and honōr of our king & countrey, aoyng to
plant & firs^t colonie in y northern parts of Virginie. god
by these presents solenly & mētracly in y presence of god, and
one of another; covenant, & combine our selves together into a
civill body politick; for our bōdor ordering, & prēservation & fur-
therance of y ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enache,
constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances,
actes, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought
most meete & convenient for y generall good of y Colonie: unto
which we promis to all due submision and obediēce. witness
whereof we haue hereunder subscribed our names at cap =
Cōct 21. of November, in y year of y reigne of our soveraigne
Lord King James of England, frane, & Irelānd & eighteene
and of Scotland y fifth & South ian: Dom: 1620.

The Mayflower Compact: from Bradford's History.

Source-Book of American History

Edited for Schools and Readers

BY

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WITH PRACTICAL INTRODUCTIONS

Illustrations by Frank C. Brown

Editorial and Publishing Committee
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Preface

THIS little book is an attempt to do for the study of American history what the photographer does for the study of art,—to collect a brief series of illustrations which, without including a hundredth part of the whole field, may give examples of the things most important to know. Yet, as no sensible person expects to get a knowledge of art simply from seeing a series of lantern slides, so it is not expected that the history of the United States can be learned from a Source Book, without the intelligent use of a good text-book or narrative history to bring out the connection and to suggest the many great men, large events, and broad movements which in this small collection of reprints have no mention. What I hope is that these brief records may awaken interest in the books from which they came and in the men who wrote them ; that a clearer idea of what our ancestors did and thought and suffered may be had from their own writings ; that the book may serve as a part of the material necessary for topical study ; and, above all, that it may throw a human interest about the necessarily compact and factful statements of text-books.

In making up the texts I have taken some pains to give an object-lesson in the methods of using and citing books, by adopting the severe principles of scientific work in history ; in every case I have sought for the earliest authentic edition of printed material ; every omission is indicated by periods (. . .) ; the text is reprinted precisely, necessary corrections or glosses being indicated by brackets or in the margin ; and to every extract is appended an exact reference to the source from which it came. Acknowledgments of the use of materials are thus in every case made by reference to the editions used ; I am under much obligation to the owners of copyright material, who have most fully and generously given their permission to reprint extracts.

Preface

The facsimile illustrations are intended to suggest to young people the kind of manuscript and other material with which historians are familiar. For the frontispiece nothing more characteristic of Puritan sentiment, Puritan government, and Puritan hand-writing could be found than the Mayflower Compact of 1620. The two pieces of Continental currency show the rude engraving and printing of the time, as well as the financial devices of the Revolution. Charles Carroll of Carrollton's letter on his fugitive slaves is a rare example of the business-like fashion in which the best planters looked upon their chattels. The extracts from the final Proclamation of Emancipation show Lincoln's characteristic hand-writing, in one of the most famous of the sources of American history.

I make no excuse for reproducing the few documents as exactly as possible ; and I make none for printing extracts from books exactly as they appear in the original editions, with any peculiarities of grammar or spelling which now would be errors. In the seventeenth century, and even in the eighteenth, there were as yet no fixed rules on such subjects ; and town clerks and other writers often had little book education. Pupils of the age of those for whom this book is intended will not find their own style affected by these obvious deviations from modern usage ; and to reduce the quaint and wandering sentences of our ancestors to order would be like putting Cotton Mather into the silk hat and plain black coat of modern society.

The work of preparation has been interesting to me ; I hope the result may be interesting to those who use it. Though I have chosen extracts which would bring out the two sides of great controversies, I take no other responsibility for the sentiments herein expressed than that of one who introduces a set of living, individual people, who speak for themselves of their lives, their interests, their standards, and their conception of their country's history.

ALBERT BUSINELL HART.

CAMBRIDGE, April 2, 1899.

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Source Book of American History

PRACTICAL INTRODUCTIONS

I. The Use of Sources

WITH the use which investigators make of sources, as a basis for elaborate historical writing, this book has nothing to do, except to suggest that upon such materials, vast in amount and bewildering in variety, rest all that we really know about the history of times earlier than the memory of living men. Even the investigator nowadays does not necessarily examine for himself every record of the events with which he deals: he may accept, and almost always does accept, some statements of facts gathered for him by other writers who have themselves examined the ground. It is not the conception of the editor that young and inexperienced boys and girls can find in this book material broad enough to serve as the sole basis for generalizations; or that they can construct a complete narrative for themselves out of any amount of material: the Source Book is meant to supplement, not to supplant the text-book.

In schools, and even in most college classes, the sources have a very different office: they are to act as adjuncts to historical narrative, by illustrating it, and making it vivid; as by analyzing a few flowers the young student of botany learns some plant structure, and accepts the rest from the text-book, so the student of history by intimate acquaintance with a few writers of contemporary books finds his reading in secondary works easier to understand.

Upon the subject of source-study in schools there is as yet little in print. Charles W. Colby, in the Introduction to his *Selections from the Sources of English History* (1899), very suggestively discusses the uses of sources. In the Report of the Madison Conference, included in the

Report of the Committee [of Ten] on Secondary School Studies (1893), §§ 15, 33, sources are treated incidentally in connection with topical study. In the *American History Studies*, issued by the University of Nebraska, are hints and suggestions. The University of Pennsylvania issues a little tract, *The Use of Original Sources in the Teaching of History*, which has helpful suggestions and includes a brief list of collections available for schools in various fields of history. The editor of this book has prefixed an essay on this subject to each of the volumes of *American History told by Contemporaries*. Almost the only general discussion of the subject is in one of the appendices to *The Study of History in Schools, Report of the Committee of Seven* (1899), printed also in *Report of the American Historical Association* for 1898. The subject is taken up in connection with other topics in the printed proceedings of the two Associations of Colleges and Preparatory Schools—that of New England, and that of the Middle States; and also in the proceedings of the New England History Teachers' Association for 1898 and 1899, and of the American Historical Association for 1897.

The use of sources in secondary and normal schools is described below by experts; it is therefore necessary here only to allude to some of the general advantages of sources, and to suggest some cautions in their use. First of all, as reading matter, even brief sources have the advantage of lively narratives on interesting subjects; and one cannot read extracts from men like John Evelyn, Captain John Smith, Cotton Mather, Whittier, or Lincoln, without desiring to know more about them and their times; but so much depends upon a writer's character, his truthfulness, his opportunities, his prejudices, that it is not safe to take sources at haphazard, without some one to vouch for them.

The use of sources enforces on the mind what ought to be familiar to any pupil in history: that the text-book grows out of such material, directly or at second hand; and that the knowledge of the writer of history goes no farther than the sum of his sources. On the Revolution, for instance, the pupil must realize that the books quote only a few out of hundreds of sources, and that generalization from narrow bases is dangerous.

Sources may very well furnish sufficient types of oft-repeated experience: for instance, from the text-book the pupil gets the impression of

the number of voyages of discovery, and of the cross-relations of the Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, Dutch, and Swedes in the new world during two centuries. But the general aim and results of those voyages are well enough set forth in the seventeen pages of Chapter I, which includes one Spanish voyage and one Spanish land exploration, two English sea-voyages and one land exploration, and one French exploration. Since it is a common experience that the illustration fixes the principle in mind, and not the principle the illustration, it is fair to expect that these illustrative voyages will serve to make vivid the consecutive narrative of explorations in general. In the same way, colonial life has many phases, and it would take years of study in a large library of sources to get an idea of how our forefathers lived and thought ; but the illustrative extracts in Chapter V, below, show in detail something of a few phases of social life, of church services, of witchcraft delusions, of trade, and of slave life ; and they will serve to explain the general and necessarily sweeping statements of text-books.

History has two functions : to tell us what has happened, and to tell us why the men of old time let it so happen. Perhaps the most difficult problem for the teacher is to bring home to the minds of pupils how differently other people have looked at things. Our own slavery contest is an example : freedom seems to us normal, and we can understand neither the South nor the North unless we let people who lived in the midst of slavery speak for themselves. One has only to take a succession of statements of facts about the slavery contest out of the best text-books, and then state the same thing out of the narratives of fugitives and the apologies of slave-holders, to see whether secondary narrative or source leaves the deeper impression on the mind. A combination of the two makes it possible to see more clearly both the significance and the relation of events.

This book is not prepared with reference to any particular text-book ; wherever a good, straightforward, accurate, narrative history is used, which deals with what is really important in the history of the nation, the extracts in this volume may be brought in to supplement the accounts of special episodes, and to furnish a background of reality and personal character.

II. Materials for Source Study

A NY well-chosen set of extracts, each long enough to be characteristic, and all together broad enough to cover the main episodes of American history, will serve to illuminate the study ; but schools should have at least a small library of complete volumes, both to extend the interest that may be raised by extracts, and to give material for topical work. Many people are startled at the idea that pupils can safely be trusted with "original sources," just as the same good people were startled at the idea of laboratories in chemistry or physics, or of sight reading in classics. There is nothing dangerous in sources if used for purposes which are within the abilities of pupils. Topics can well be prepared from secondary books which are fresh to the pupil ; but they can also be prepared from sources if you have them, and the quaintness and liveliness of much of this material make it more interesting to dig down through the crust of secondary works. The point of view must always be that the pupil's result is incomplete, because he has not time, material, or judgment to come to any final conclusion ; but that he learns what, but for use of sources, neither he nor his friends could know. A pupil cannot be expected to weigh conflicting evidence or to reconcile disagreements, but he can state things as he finds them. However simple his work and small his result, however far it may be from "original research," it is nevertheless to him a voyage of discovery ; and the statement of his results, if he really puts his mind upon it, is a creative act.

To aid in such work a short list of desirable books may be suggested, containing only a few of the most important works in each field.

Bibliographies of Sources

Lists of select sources are to be found in various small books,—as William E. Foster's little pamphlet, *References to the History of Presidential Administrations, 1789–1885* (New York, 1885), containing excellent classified references to biographies. Channing and Hart's *Guide to the Study of American History* (Boston, 1896) includes long classified

lists of sources, with exact titles. The editor of this book has prefixed lists of sources to each of the four volumes of *American History told by Contemporaries*. Good characterizations of the writers of sources may be found in H. T. Tuckerman's *America and her Commentators* (New York, 1864); and Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* (8 volumes, Boston, 1886-89) is the greatest work of American historical bibliography. Sources may often be reached through the footnotes and lists of works cited in the standard secondary historians, especially Doyle, *English in America*, Bancroft (early edition), Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, Henry Adams, *History*, Von Holst, Rhodes; and in the more detailed biographies.

Collections of Reprints available for Schools

There are now four collections of related reprints in American history, besides five series of leaflets, obtainable in single numbers or in quantities. Full sets of the nine works mentioned below, complete to the end of 1899, should cost all together about \$45.

American Colonial Tracts. Edited by George P. Humphrey (Rochester, 1897-).—A monthly series of reprints, taken chiefly from the rare and expensive *Force Tracts*, and not collated with the originals.

American History Leaflets. Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart and Edward Channing (New York, 1892-96).—Thirty numbers, chiefly documents; some complete, others made up of short related pieces.

American History Studies: Selections made from the Sources. Edited by H. W. Caldwell (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1897-).—Chiefly short related extracts illustrating some general subject.

American History told by Contemporaries. Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart (4 volumes, New York, 1897-).—Made up substantially on the same plan as the Source Book, except that the extracts are longer, and include many more subjects and authors.

American Orations: Studies in American Political History. Edited by Alexander Johnston, reedited by James Albert Woodburn (4 volumes, 2d ed., New York, 1898).

Select Documents illustrative of the History of the United States.

Introductions

Edited by William Macdonald (New York, 1898). — This volume covers the period 1776-1861, and is made up chiefly of constitutional and political documents. A second volume, from 1861 down, is in preparation.

Liberty Bell Leaflets. (Philadelphia, 1899-.) — Recently begun; thus far the numbers include only the history of the middle colonies.

Library of American Literature from the Earliest Settlement to the Present Time. Edited by Edmund Clarence Stedman and Ellen Mackay Hutchinson (11 volumes, New York, 1888-90). — Extracts selected rather for their literary value than for their historical contents, but containing some of the choicest work of American statesmen and worthies; an excellent set for a school library.

Old South Leaflets. Edited by Edwin D. Mead (Boston, 1883-). — The earliest in the field; now about ninety numbers; texts not carefully collated.

Additional Sources desirable for Schools

To go beyond the sets of reprints leads one into a great mass of material, most of which is of so much interest and value that it is hard to discriminate and select. What any particular school can buy and profitably use depends on its means and its geographical situation. In making up a school library it is very desirable to have good sets of material on the local and State history, including the history of any colony of which the territory or the State was at any time a part.

1. **Local Records.** — Printed town or city records, of the place in which the school is situated, and of the most important places in the State; where there are no local records, among the best of their kind are the Boston, Providence, New Amsterdam, Upland, Albany, Newark.

2. **State Records.** — If none for the State in which the school is situated, the best for general use are those of Plymouth, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina; most useful of all are the *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York* (15 vols.).

3. **National Records.**—*Journals* of the Continental Congress (three editions); *Secret Journals*. On the Constitutional Conventions, *Elliot's Debates* (5 vols.) is indispensable and easy to get. Under the Constitutional government, at least one set of congressional documents for a Congress (two years); any part of the printed debates is valuable, but especially for the years 1789-93, 1797-99, 1811-13, 1819-21, 1835-37, 1849-51, 1853-55, 1859-61, 1863-65, 1867-69. A set or a partial set of the *Statutes at Large* is desirable. The folio *American State Papers* (38 vols.) is rather common, and would be a mine for topical work on the period 1789-1840.

4. **Publications of Learned Societies.**—Every school ought to have a set of the publications of its local and state historical societies if possible, or at least a partial set. The most valuable issues (nearly all relating to the period before 1789) are those of the societies of Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New Haven, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana, and especially of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

5. **Works of Public Men.**—Out of hundreds of statesmen the most important are Franklin, John Adams, John Jay, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Gallatin, Monroe, Calhoun, Clay, Webster, Seward, Garfield, Sumner; especially Washington, and *Correspondence of the American Revolution* (letters to Washington), and Lincoln (*Works*).

6. **Autobiographies and Reminiscences.**—Any local author: John Quincy Adams, Benton, Hutchinson, Kemble, McCullough; especially Samuel Sewall, Franklin, William Maclay, Josiah Quincy, U. S. Grant, John and W. T. Sherman.

7. **Travels.**—Those who have visited the locality or neighborhood: W. Bartram, Burnaby, Chambers, Chastellux, Crevecoeur, James Hall; especially Dankers and Sluyter, Josselyn, Kalm, Olmstead, Bryce.

8. **Newspapers.**—Difficult to handle and early worn out; hence hardly suitable for a school library. The most serviceable for historical work are Niles's *Weekly Register*, the *National Intelligencer*, and the *Nation*, covering in succession the period from 1815 to 1899; reprints of extracts from colonial newspapers make up several volumes of the *New Jersey Archives*.

III. The Sources in Secondary Schools

By RAY GREENE HULING, Sc.D.

HEADMASTER OF THE CAMBRIDGE ENGLISH HIGH SCHOOL

THE last decade has witnessed a marked change in the teaching of history in secondary schools. What before was characteristic of a few favored localities has now become widespread both in theoretic acceptance and in actual practice. In aims and in methods the advance, though later in point of time, has been quite comparable as to quality with the changes that have given our pupils "originals" in geometry, and have introduced them to laboratory practice in the physical and biological sciences. The rapid growth of the movement is largely due to the open-mindedness of the teachers; for, seeing the superior value to their pupils of the more strenuous work, they have eagerly welcomed methods which materially add to their own labors. Therefore the newer conceptions have caused the growth of associations of teachers; and by the initiative of college instructors in this field have taken form in new requirements for admission to college. The interest aroused has also produced a considerable body of literature, and especially has led to a demand for more abundant and adequate material to be used in daily work. To this demand the present volume is a direct and competent response.

The most important element in the change is doubtless the emphasis now laid on the disciplinary aims of the study of history. It has always been held, and is yet held, that a body of well selected historical facts should be acquired. It is now believed, however, that these facts are not really acquired by children and youth merely by reading and memoriter work, and that a more effective way to train both memory and reason is so to organize these facts in the process of acquisition as to set up in the pupils' minds by repeated practice accurate and persistent intellectual habits,—in the secondary school the processes which are grouped under the terms, imagination, memory, judgment, and reasoning. It is also held that in these schools history should yield

ethical ideals, stimulate right emotions, and thus train moral character ; that by means of it the pupil should become more facile and precise with tongue and pen ; and that when school ends for him, he should step forth the possessor of sufficient knowledge, sufficient interest, and sufficient power to warrant a continuance of historical study by private effort. It is hoped that the final outcome of the pursuit of history, even in the secondary schools, may be a constant application of the lessons of the past to the problems of the present,—the tendency to see all things in historical perspective. Certainly there are few richer gifts which these schools have to bestow.

A natural result of this enlargement of purpose is a change to methods more adequate and more varied. A text-book is used, as before, to give a thread of continuity to the whole work, but it is no longer the exclusive reliance. Collateral reading is added in some variety. Atlases and maps are studied and reproduced. Objective illustrations,—pictures, weapons, specimens of dress, household utensils, and other *realia*,—are utilized as in the natural sciences. Then, in the class-room, tests are applied to determine the reaction of the pupil's mind on this material : intelligent application is stimulated in a variety of ways, by requiring written summaries of assigned collateral reading, by calling for continuous oral statements of the course of events within a particular period, by short, sharp questions about definite facts, by impromptu or prepared discussions upon debatable questions. Skill in selection is trained by topical work, skill in judgment by instituting comparisons and searching for causes, skill in expression by the acceptance of none but well-written papers or recitations made in correct form.

Inasmuch as there are differences of mental power among children in the secondary school, ranging in age as they do from thirteen to nineteen years, some care must be taken to adapt our aims and methods to the order of mental growth established by nature ; otherwise we shall be found demanding bricks without straw, or failing to utilize the full capacity of the learner. Obviously with the younger classes stress should be laid on the cultivation of the memory and the imagination, and with the older increasingly upon the logical processes ; but during the whole period an appeal can be made by a discriminating

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teacher with safety and with hope of profit to all the activities which have been mentioned.

But the teacher who welcomes the enlarged hopes concerning the study of history and values aright the more modern methods, finds certain difficulties confronting him as soon as he essays the broader instruction. Not to enumerate them all, let us mention one that is obvious. A well selected working library should be provided, wherein quality is of even more importance than quantity, desirable as is the latter; and even a well chosen library is seen to be a bewildering field into which to turn boys and girls, to say nothing of some bewildered teachers. But so great is the advantage that may be derived from collateral reading, and from the ability to use books wisely as to contents and economically as to time, that no difficulties ought to be regarded as insurmountable until enough books of a suitable kind are obtained and efficient guides to their use have been found.

Such a book and such a guide, combining a double office of helpfulness, teachers of the history of our own land will henceforth have in this Source Book of American History. It is a compilation, to be sure, but the judgment displayed in the character, the length, the order, and the annotation of the selections reveals an unusual understanding of the needs of teachers and pupils in the secondary schools. The extracts are above all interesting in themselves, and for their liveliness will attract the attention of many who care more for literature than for history as such. They also throw a flood of light on the setting of historical episodes, helping us to see with the eyes of our forbears, and making the times of which they speak living scenes, almost visible before our faces. They come to our consciousness with the force of fresh testimony from eye-witnesses, and therefore imbed themselves within the memory and move the emotions as no narrative at second hand can possibly do. The stories they have to tell are often quaint in style, but they are easy to comprehend, and never so long in any case as to be tedious. The hard thing, indeed, will be not to read them all at a sitting, and so to diminish the freshness of their force when we desire them, on closer study, to yield their full aid in mental discipline. They whet our appetite and at the same time point to laden tables, whither we may turn at

our leisure, or our need, for ampler feasts. The antique form of the more ancient documents is retained for the sake of accuracy and of distinctness of impression; yet nothing is left obscure for lack of due explanation. Their range covers the whole period of our history; their variety is as broad as the capacity of youth for appreciation; the marginal comments are terse and sensible. One can scarcely conceive of a more efficient or more timely gift to historical instruction in the secondary school.

Let us turn now to some consideration of the uses of which this little volume is capable as a means of realizing the aims of modern history work. We cannot, however, treat the matter exhaustively or otherwise than by the merest suggestion, which every teacher must amplify according to his judgment.

Since school instruction is mainly through class work, and since ordinarily all members of a class find it convenient to consult their most used books at one and the same time, there should be supplied as many copies of the Source Book as there are members of the class. A less number will be helpful, but will not yield the full service desirable. Among the younger pupils its first use is to minister to the stimulation of interest and the development of historical imagination. As maturity warrants, it may be employed in a search for motives, in comparisons, and in the determination of logical relations. In classes of all ages, it may be made the means of illuminating the narrative of the text-book, of stimulating curiosity so as to lead students farther afield, and of cultivating intelligent reading and competent expression. An appropriate selection from this volume should be made a part of the assignment as reading collateral to the text or to the topic under consideration, and the definite time for its completion should be stated. When that time arrives, in connection with the ordinary recitation, the pupils should be led to reproduce the picture given in the selection read, to mention what new facts have been gleaned from it, to indicate what they like or especially dislike in the narrative, and otherwise to comment upon their reading. At times they should be asked to present written summaries of the incidents mentioned or the personal characteristics described. Later on this written work may take the form of comparisons and of

inferences drawn from them. For instance, in the first selection, Columbus shows us the simple, credulous spirit of the West Indian natives, and their liberality toward the newcomers, whom they deemed "beings of a celestial race." In the sixth selection, Champlain recounts the cruelties practised on enemies by his savage allies, the Hurons. In the ninth, Spelman makes a third contribution to our knowledge of the customs of the natives. Later we have other pictures of them by the Sieur de Tonty, by an unknown Puritan, by Peter Kalm, by Patrick Gass and by Commissioner Morgan. These varying accounts, as they come in due course, will lead to natural comparisons and discussion, all tending to make definite a composite portrait of the Aborigines, and to increase intellectual power. With somewhat older students, it will not be hard to stimulate a deeper search into the content of these pages. Many will be interested to see if they can find from the documents themselves, without accepting any hints from the notes, whether the several authors of the nine selections numbered from 53 to 61 were in heart "for us" or "against us" in the Revolutionary War; and they will be glad to give reasons for their opinions. The admirable topics which appear in the first introduction will abundantly furnish suggestions for severer requirements.

Yet after all the sight of this Source Book may elicit from some hard-worked teacher the frank objection, "But it takes more time!" No better answer was ever made than by the late and lamented Mary Sheldon Barnes: "Good friend, it does; and it takes more time to solve a problem in arithmetic than to read its answer; and more time to read a play of Shakespeare than to read that Shakespeare was the greatest dramatist of all the ages; and more time, finally, to read the American Constitution and the American newspaper, and make up your mind how to vote your own vote, than it does to be put into a 'block of five.' *But what is time for?*"

IV. The Sources in Normal Schools

By PROFESSOR EMMA M. RIDLEY

IOWA STATE NORMAL SCHOOL

PERHAPS no subject has undergone a greater transformation in the last few years than history. This is without doubt due to an appreciation of the personal element in history,—to a realization of the fact that the makers of past history were human beings, men and women like ourselves, with the same mixture of good and bad impulses and motives, the same hopes and fears, the same ambitions and desires. We at last can say with Emerson : “We sympathize in the great movements of history, in the great discoveries, the great resistances, the great prosperities of men, because their law was enacted, the sea was searched, the land was found, or the blow was struck for us, as we ourselves in that place would have done or applauded.”

In the study of history, as in other subjects, two things are to be considered,—a mastery of the subject-matter and the development of the pupil’s mind. The bare facts and dates may perhaps be obtained and even the memory developed under the old text-book system, but it is impossible to get into the spirit of the period studied, or to develop the reason, judgment, imagination, by any such process. Some more stimulating influence is needed.

Until very recently the stimulus of first-hand acquaintance with even a few sources was not possible for schools, even for Normal Schools, because it was a long and costly task to get together a sufficient library of sources to be really representative. Such books as this solve the problem : for they put into the hand of the individual pupil a body of material brief enough to be used in the time usually allotted, and yet full enough to preserve the continuity of American history from its beginning to the present time.

The reader of the Source Book will at once be struck by the liveliness of American history. The accounts of the discoverers and explorers are not less exciting than the tales of the Arabian Nights. The effects of lives of struggle and adventure are seen in the reckless,

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adventurous class of immigrants who came to Virginia. The principle of state sovereignty becomes more intelligible to the pupil who traces it from the beginning in the foundation and rivalries of the separate colonies. How the practical side of Puritan character comes out in the plaint of Colonel Byrd : “ tho' with Respect to Rum, the Saints of New England I fear will find out some trick to evade your Act of Parliament.” Slavery becomes a vital thing when the Virginia Assembly legislates on it, a governor of South Carolina defends it, William Lloyd Garrison is mobbed for it, Charity Bowery gives her experience of it, and John Brown goes to the scaffold defying it. And the real causes of the Civil War are shadowed forth in the speeches of Abraham Lincoln and Alexander H. Stephens.

Another advantage of the source method is the widening of one's circle of friends. The pupil finds his heroes and heroines whose good points he henceforth consciously or unconsciously imitates and into whose place as makers of history he tries to put himself.

Let no one suppose, however, that the method for which this book is planned is automatic. Good tools alone cannot insure a perfect piece of workmanship : the teacher must be a zealous and hard-working general manager, and the pupils must be earnest and faithful workmen. First the teacher must see that the extracts are in the hands of each pupil, with the understanding that they are to be studied, not merely read. Text-books or good secondary histories, up-to-date narratives, should always be used in connection with the Source Book ; for each supplements the other.

To insure a thorough study of the extract the teacher should suggest some questions or ask for the development of some line of thought as the lesson is assigned. For example, if the study is Columbus (pp. 1-3), the pupil may be asked to form his opinion of the motives and character of Columbus from his own letter ; his notions of the Indians, and his treatment of them ; let him discover whether the descriptions are true to facts, later established ; and determine in his own mind how far Columbus deserves praise or censure from our modern standards. Broad generalization cannot be expected from brief extracts ; what is to be sought is that the pupil may think about what he reads.

The lessons should be short at first and very specific, because the method is new and the old English and spelling are hard to understand. The method must vary with the age and previous preparation of the pupil. Each extract should be regarded as a problem to be solved by honest study and thought on the part of the pupil. The result will be his opinion of the causes and results of the circumstances under consideration. The opinion must always be proved from the extract.

This method takes more time for both pupil and teacher, but the gain in interest, in mental discipline, in citizenship, in manhood and womanhood is correspondingly great. The pupil may not know as many facts at the close of a term's study, but he will have gained such an insight into human nature, such an appreciation of the relation of results to causes that life and his relations to it will have a better and deeper meaning to him. History will then do its proper work of raising the standard of patriotism and civic virtue.

This book will be especially appreciated by Normal Schools, for to them the source method appeals, not only because of the advantage to the student himself, but also because the Normal trained teacher should go out into the field well equipped with the newest and best methods. Notwithstanding the fact that it is the province of the Normal School to devote much of its time to the so-called common branches, there is always a tendency among the students to feel that since they have had these subjects in the grades, it is a waste of time "to take them again"; and hence they apply for test examinations. That this is often the case in United States history, cannot be wondered at, since these students usually feel that all of American history is comprised within the covers of a brief and inaccurate text-book.

Normal teachers will find that source study will greatly alleviate this difficulty, for source material never gets old and worn out. The teacher who has used this method learns that history does not consist in committing to memory statements found in some narrative text, but that it means mental development through contact with realities, and power to reach conclusions for oneself. Once accustomed to the method, one need not stop studying American history because a few facts have been acquired, any more than one drops mathematics when he has

learned the multiplication table. Other Normals will find, as the Iowa State Normal has found, that under this method requests for anticipatory tests will decrease at least three fourths, because students become convinced that history by this method is not merely a review, but a serious subject demanding serious study; that it will develop all his mental powers and enable him to see American history in a new light.

It must not be forgotten that the Normal students are to be teachers. Can any one be too well equipped, too well balanced for such work? The great need to-day is for men and women who can think; for citizens capable of forming sound judgments in social and governmental matters. The opportunity for meeting this demand rests very largely with those teachers who have power in themselves to develop thought and call out originality in the pupils. The Normal trained teacher, who has himself had the advantage of the source method in history as well as the source or laboratory method in physics, chemistry, or botany will most nearly meet the requirements. This volume, placed in the hands of a Normal student and studied as it should be, will not only put him more in sympathy with his own country than ever before, will not only develop his own reason and judgment, but will enable him to make history a power in the schoolroom.

The effect of the use of such a book as this in the future teacher's own grasp of the subject must not be forgotten: the careful reading of selected sources fills the mind with illustrations, and adds the lively details which make recitations interesting to the pupils and easy for the teacher. Of course for preparation for classroom work the teacher will go farther into source material, through such collections as are described in Introduction IV, below, and in the side-notes throughout this book; and he will find useful the helps for teachers which appear in these introductions.

The teacher who introduces the source method into a Normal School will constantly have the pleasure of hearing students testify that for the first time history has been interesting and profitable to them, because it has made them thoughtful, critical, inquiring, and even original. History can do nothing for us, be nothing to us, unless it be vitalized. This book rightly used cannot fail to accomplish this, its purpose.

V. Subjects for Topical Study from Sources

THIS book is too brief to furnish much material for topical study, and hence references are made throughout to other collections. The advantages of written work are well known, in giving point and definiteness to the pupil's knowledge, and in affording training in the use of books, in the analysis of material, and in stating things to other people ; and discussions of various kinds of written work will be found in the various treatises on the teachings of history. One of the principal difficulties in such work is to find topics which are simple and definite enough for young pupils, upon which information may readily be obtained, and which are not complicated by contested questions. In many of the recent text-books lists of such subjects will be found, as well as in Channing and Hart's *Guide* (through the topical heads in Parts II, III). There are also several outlines and outline histories of the United States which are made up almost wholly of topics ; a list of such will be found in the *Guide*, § 16 b. In the editor's *Revised Suggestions in United States History and Government* (Cambridge, 1895) are about two thousand subjects of a more advanced character, intended primarily for college students.

The following list is intended to include only subjects upon which interesting material can be found in comparatively small libraries of sources. A very large list might also be made of more special and minute questions, and of historical incidents. It is impossible to make them all equally difficult or equally interesting, but the asterisks mark especially likely topics ; each of the subheads under the numbered headings is supposed to be a sufficient subject for a piece of written work, so that about a thousand topics are here suggested.

I. Discoveries

1. Physical conditions of America at the time of discovery : *wild animals ; *forests ; trees ; birds ; *tobacco ; fruits ; *Indian corn ; fish ; Indian sugar ; metals.

2. Indians : houses ; clothing ; families ; chiefs ; *councils ; weapons ; journeys ; worship ; friendship for whites ; *war-path.

3. What did one of the following Spanish discoverers find that was not known to Europeans? Columbus, first voyage ; second voyage ; third voyage ; *fourth voyage ; *Balboa ; Pineda ; Vespucci ; *Ponce de Leon ; De Ayllon ; Cabeza de Vaca ; *Coronado.

4. What did each of the following French explorers discover? *Verazano ; *Cartier, first and second voyages ; Cartier, third voyage ; *Father Jogues ; *Champlain ; Nicolet ; *Marquette ; Hennepin ; *La Salle ; Bienville ; *Iberville.

5. What was actually discovered by the following English explorers? John Cabot ; Sebastian Cabot ; *Sir Francis Drake ; *Sir Walter Raleigh , John Rut ; Sir Humphrey Gilbert ; *Amadas and Barlow ; Gosnold , Pring ; Weymouth ; *Captain John Smith.

6. What was discovered by one of the following Dutch explorers? *Henry Hudson ; De Vries.

II. Conditions of Settlement

7. Previous life in England of some early settlers : Bradford ; *Winthrop ; Vane ; John Smith ; Say and Sele.

8. Settlers : public buildings ; *houses ; block-houses ; *inland journeys ; canoe voyages ; *trading with Indians ; weapons ; food ; crops ; cattle.

III. First Era of Colonization

9. The great companies : *Plymouth Company ; London Company ; Grand Council for New England ; *Massachusetts Bay Company.

10. Virginia : *boundaries ; *town of Jamestown ; town of Williamsburg ; John Smith as governor ; Edward Wingfield as governor ; Dale as governor ; *first Assembly ; Sir William Berkeley ; *incidents of Bacon's Rebellion ; *first slaves.

11. Maryland : *boundaries ; territorial map ; first settlement ; quarrels with Pennsylvania ; troubles with Clayborne ; a Catholic family in Maryland ; a Puritan family in Maryland ; *tobacco culture.

12. The Carolinas : *boundaries ; territorial maps ; Puritans ; a rebellion ; boundary quarrels with Virginia ; Indians.

13. Plymouth: biography of some worthy, as *Bradford, Carver, Winslow, *Brewster, Robinson, Standish; life of a Pilgrim in Holland; *account of an escape from England; *Hampton Court Conference; *Archbishop Laud's opinion of Puritans; James I's opinion of Puritans; *what do we know about the "Mayflower" voyage? Plymouth fish trade; dealings with Indians; *early town-meetings; Plymouth patent; union with Massachusetts.

14. Massachusetts: *Merry Mount; *why did Boston become the chief town? relations with Indians; biography of some worthy, as *Winthrop, Endicott, Saltonstall, *Higginson, *Vane, Coddington, *Dudley; opinions expressed by Charles II; investigation by commissioners; *Governor Andros; *revolution of 1689.

15. Rhode Island: *what did Anne Hutchinson teach? *Roger Williams; first settlement at Providence; Gorton; first settlement at Newport; charter obtained; religious liberty.

16. Connecticut: *boundaries; Dutch on the Connecticut; *emigration from Cambridge; relations with Indians; Pequot War; founding of New Haven; annexation of New Haven; "Fundamental Orders"; Governor Andros; *Charter Oak.

17. New Hampshire and Maine: boundaries; Mason claim; *Gorges claim; first settlements; city of Agamenticus; fishermen.

18. New England Confederation: *why formed? *account of a meeting; quarrels with Massachusetts; quarrels with the Dutch; charitable work; *why did it break up?

iv. Second Era of Colonization

19. Dutch settlements: boundaries on the Delaware; *New Amsterdam; Fort Orange; Governor Stuyvesant; *Governor Kieft; relations with Indians; account of a patroonate; Five Nations.

20. New York: why did the English wish New Amsterdam? *why could not the Dutch defend New Amsterdam? *"Duke's Laws"; *Jacob Leisler; prosecution of Zenger; Governor Andros.

21. New Jersey: *boundaries; foundation of East Jersey; foundation of West Jersey; New Englanders; Quakers; union of the Jerseys.

22. Pennsylvania: boundaries; early Swedish settlements; how did Penn get his charter? *Penn's first coming; early Philadelphia; *Germans; Finns; Moravians; *Penn's constitution; relations with Indians.

23. Georgia: boundaries; *Oglethorpe in Georgia; Germans; Jews; *why were slaves allowed? *quarrels with the Spaniards; *question of rum.

v. Seventeenth Century Life

(Very often it will be found quite sufficient to work up one of the following topics on some single colony, using all available journals, diaries, travels, and descriptions, as well as wills, statutes, etc.)

24. Social life: *houses; furniture; *clothing; *amusements; food; *beverages; table ware.

25. Travel: on horseback; by sea; dangers of the roads; ferries; inns.

26. Employments: *ship-building; *iron-making; fishing; foreign trade; *furs; mining; *timber.

27. Religion: church buildings; *account of Sunday; sermons; baptism; "Half-way Covenant"; Thursday lectures; might a man worship God according to his own conscience? *ministers; *church music; fast days; thanksgivings.

28. Education: schools; *foundation of Harvard; *foundation of Yale; *foundation of William and Mary; *learned women.

29. Literature: *poetry; humorous works; *histories.

30. Quakers: what did they believe? were they dangerous to the colonies? defence of themselves; *a trial.

31. Witchcraft: **spectral evidence"; a trial; punishment of witches; *courts in Massachusetts; witches in other colonies; *Increase Mather on witches; Calef on witches.

32. Town life: *Boston; *New Haven; *New Amsterdam; *New York; *Philadelphia; *Charleston; Savannah.

33. Slavery: *might slaves be baptized? Indian slaves; plantations; house servants; *early anti-slavery; insurrections; fugitives.

vi. France and England

34. Canada: how governed; "coureurs de bois"; fur-trading; a French attack on the English frontier; a Canadian town.
35. Louisiana: La Salle's colony; *Bienville's colony; *"Mississippi bubble"; foundation of New Orleans; slaves; *Crozat's grant.
36. Six Nations: relations with French; relations with English; methods of fighting; *Long House; *an attack on the frontier.
37. Wars with France: *capture of Deerfield; capture of Andover; *capture of Schenectady; *colonial privateering; *first capture of Louisburg; *removal of the Acadians.
38. French and Indian War: French in Ohio; *the Half-King; *Colonel Washington at Fort Necessity; *Braddock's defeat; Abercrombie's defeat; second capture of Louisburg; *capture of Quebec; capture of Montreal.

vii. Eighteenth Century Life

(Most of the subjects in section V above are also applicable to the eighteenth century, and the following additional topics may be suggested.)

39. Social life: early theatres; horse races; military uniforms; *family life; conflagrations; country seats; *purchases from England; *use of tea; use of chocolate; entertainment of guests; inoculation; the ague; *lotteries; *weddings; tippling; instances of large families.
40. Servitude: *indentured servants; sales of slaves; *advertisements of runaways; slave galleries in church; *African slave-trade.
41. Anti-slavery: *Quaker abolitionists; restrictions on slave-trade; setting slaves free; *Somerset decision; anti-slavery Puritans; Samuel Sewall; Samuel Hopkins; Anthony Benezet; John Woolman; earliest abolition societies.
42. Religion: *clergy in the Southern colonies; Dutch ministers; *Puritan ministers; Episcopalian churches; Baptists: *Methodists; Presbyterians; Dunkers; Shakers; United Brethren; *Whitefield; *"Great Awakening"; *John Wesley.

43. Intellectual life: *earliest newspapers; *public libraries; private libraries; doctors; lawyers; New England Earthquake; lightning-rods; *printers; almanacs; *Poor Richard; *Phillis Wheatley.

44. Education: foundation of Dartmouth; Brown; King's College (Columbia); Princeton; Rutgers; University of Pennsylvania; law students; *school-teachers; examinations; primary schools; *good letter-writers.

45. Histories: Smith's *New Jersey*; *Stith's *Virginia*; Williams's *Deerfield*; Prince's *New England*; *Hutchinson's *Massachusetts*; Amos Adams's *Concise View*; *Proud's *Pennsylvania*; Edwards's *Baptists*; Backus's *New England*.

46. Industries: beaver pelts; raising fruit; hat-making; *iron-making; potash; rice; sugar; wine; *indigo; exports of grain; mining; tobacco; home spinning; home weaving; cheese.

47. Trade: with the West Indies; with the enemy; *English pirates; Spanish pirates; masts; timber; *Captain Kidd; *Black Beard; *smuggling; rum.

48. Travel: carriages; boats; sailing crafts; roads; canoes; *Niagara Falls.

49. Paper money: issues; *arguments for; *objections; British prohibition; local coinage.

VIII. Colonial Government

(This is one of the most difficult subjects in colonial history; hence topics are not recommended which require the use of a large body of material and elaborate generalization, but rather such as involve the study of narratives, especially the records of colonies and municipalities. Detailed subjects might be suggested by going carefully over *Contemporaries*, II, Part iii.)

50. Activity: *lords of trade; restriction of the suffrage; *disorderly elections; *a day in an assembly; *a day in town-meeting; a day in a colonial council; city councils; a vestry-meeting; *imprisonment for debt; the pillory; branding; *a veto; a governor's salary; a governor's ball; "mandamus councillors."

ix. The Revolution

(On the history of the Revolution, the extracts in this volume look rather to its causes and to the spirit of the people than to the actual military operations ; and the material is so abundant that stimulating topics may be found which do not deal with military movements or details. A very few out of a possible multitude are here stated.)

51. The Stamp Act controversy : protests ; *a mob ; *Franklin's opinions ; *why was the Stamp Act repealed ? colonial loyalty to King George ; what became of the stamps ?

52. Spirit of the people : *revolutionary town-meetings ; *Sons of Liberty ; *Committees of Correspondence ; *a revolutionary convention ; *the flight of a governor ; destruction of the "Gaspee" ; *a revolutionary mob ; British soldiers in garrison ; North Carolina Regulators ; *a Tory's defence ; imprisonment of Tories ; *exile of Tories ; Tory ministers of the gospel ; patriot ministers ; Tory songs ; patriot songs ; *life of a refugee.

53. The Western country : *an emigrant journey ; *a settler's home ; *a brush with the Indians ; frontier churches ; a log house ; floating down the Ohio ; a powwow with the Indians ; clearing land.

54. Soldiers : *recruiting ; pay ; uniforms ; *camp life ; on the march ; in battle ; *negro troops ; *French officers ; *Hessian officers ; Hessian soldiers ; naval officers ; *life of a privateer ; loyalist troops ; spies ; hospitals ; *work of women ; Indian allies.

55. Experiences of individuals : *Washington ; Gates ; Greene ; Putnam ; *Riedesel ; *Burgoyne ; Clinton ; *Charles Lee ; Lincoln ; "Whitehorse Harry Lee" ; Knox ; Ward ; Hamilton ; *Cornwallis ; Tarleton ; *Lafayette ; Steuben ; Conway ; André ; *Arnold ; *Nathan Hale ; Burnaby ; Tilghman ; Thacher.

56. Revolutionary government : *a day in the first Continental Congress ; *a day in the second Continental Congress ; *a day in a State convention ; debate on the Declaration of Independence ; *arguments for confederation ; debate on the French treaty.

57. Battles : *Lexington and Concord ; *Bunker Hill ; siege of Boston ; Long Island ; New York ; Trenton ; *Princeton ; Bennington ; Brandy-

wine ; *Saratoga ; Valley Forge ; Newport ; Charleston ; Camden ; Cowpens ; siege of Yorktown ; *surrender at Yorktown.

58. Finances : *Continental paper money ; paper money of some State ; Bank of North America ; *maximum prices ; war taxes.

59. Peace : Deane in France ; *Franklin in France ; treaty of 1778 ; French loans ; John Adams in Paris ; *John Jay in Paris ; *breaking instructions ; *George III yields ; independence acknowledged ; boundaries ; fisheries ; British debts ; loyalists.

x. Confederation and Constitution

60. Articles of Confederation : *Franklin's draft ; *Dickinson's draft ; draft of Congress ; New Jersey's opposition ; *Maryland's opposition ; slavery question ; *defects ; criticisms by Pelatiah Webster, Noah Webster, Hamilton, Washington.

61. Land claims and cessions : *Connecticut ; Massachusetts ; New York ; Pennsylvania ; *Virginia ; South Carolina ; North Carolina ; *Georgia ; Grayson's ordinance ; Western Reserve ; Fire Lands ; Symmes purchase ; Wyoming controversy.

62. New State constitutions : any one of the thirteen States ; suffrage ; single house legislatures ; councils as chief executive ; *John Adams's opinions.

63. Slavery : the Association ; *Jefferson's ordinance ; *Northwest Ordinance ; emancipation by *Vermont, *Massachusetts, *Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey.

64. Federal Convention : *describe the attitude of some member of the convention by following out his motions and arguments through the debates ; follow through its various stages the question of Senate, Supreme Court, election of President, Vice-President, taxing power, commerce power.

65. Compromises of the Constitution : *two houses ; *federal ratio ; *slave-trade.

66. Ratification : follow out some one line of argument for or against the Constitution through all the conventions ; *find out what were the rea-

sons which determined some one of the State conventions for or against ratification ; how many amendments were suggested by conventions ?

xI. Making the Government

67. Public services of Hamilton, *Jefferson, Madison, *Maclay, Boudinot, Robert Morris, Gallatin, Gouverneur Morris, John Jay, Edmund Randolph, Harper, Henry Knox, Arthur St. Clair.

68. Debates, 1789-93 : on instructions ; *State department ; Treasury department ; President's title ; *first tariff ; excise ; judiciary ; *submitting papers (1796) ; *removal of officers ; *national capital ; funding the debt ; assumption ; *United States Bank ; slavery petitions.

69. Admission of new States : Vermont ; Kentucky ; Tennessee ; *Ohio.

70. Foreign relations : *Genet's mission ; neutrality proclamation ; *Jay treaty ; Spanish treaty ; "Despatch No. 10" ; **"X. Y. Z." ; French treaty of 1800 ; **" Addresses " to Adams.

71. Internal dissensions : *Whiskey Rebellion ; election of Adams ; *debates on Alien Act *or Sedition Act ; *first Kentucky Resolutions ; Virginia Resolutions ; *second Kentucky Resolution ; Madison's Report ; Fries insurrection ; election of 1800.

xII. Jefferson's Policy

72. Political : election of 1801 ; "midnight appointments" ; removal of Bishop ; *Jefferson's simplicity ; his opinions on *Marbury vs. Madison* ; on Chase impeachment ; *on Burr trial ; on the army ; *some incident in the Barbary wars ; Quid party.

73. Annexations : Treaty of St. Ildefonso ; withdrawal of right of deposit ; *why did Napoleon cede Louisiana? *constitutional objections to the annexation ; *political objections ; West Florida question ; Texas boundary ; Lewis and Clark's expedition ; account of Astoria ; complaints of Louisiana territorial government.

74. Neutral trade : *instances of capture of American merchantmen ; number of captures ; *instances of impressment ; Berlin Decree ; Milan

Decree ; Bayonne Decree ; Decree of the Trianon ; British Orders in Council ; *“Leopard-Chesapeake” affair ; *debate on embargo ; on enforcement ; on repeal ; Erskine’s mission ; *Jackson’s mission ; Rose’s mission ; Foster’s mission ; Pinckney’s mission.

xiii. War of 1812

75. Opinions of statesmen on the war : Madison ; Monroe ; *Clay ; *Calhoun ; *Webster ; Jackson ; Lowndes ; Cheves ; J. Q. Adams.

76. Military operations : Detroit ; Niagara ; *battle of Lake Erie ; *Plattsburg ; *Lundy’s Lane ; capture of Washington ; *New Orleans.

77. Naval operations : capture of *“Guerrière” ; *“Macedonian” ; “Java” ; “Peacock” ; “Argus” ; *“Boxer” ; “Chesapeake” ; *“Essex.”

78. Opposition : feeling in *Massachusetts ; in Connecticut ; in Rhode Island ; in Vermont ; *Hartford Convention.

79. Peace : services of Gallatin, Clay, Bayard, *John Quincy Adams ; Mississippi question ; slaves ; impressment ; *fisheries ; boundaries.

xiv. Reorganization

80. *Cities and towns in 1820 : Boston ; Salem ; Providence ; Hartford ; New Haven ; New York ; Albany ; Newark ; Philadelphia ; Baltimore ; Richmond ; Charleston ; New Orleans ; Pittsburg ; Cincinnati ; Detroit.

81. Western life : *clearing land ; *schools ; churches ; camp-meetings ; lawyers ; land buyers ; *Abraham Lincoln’s family ; flat-boats ; *steamboats.

82. Commercial : *debate on United States Bank ; on Bonus Bill ; *on tariff of 1816 ; *a trip over the Cumberland Road ; Erie Canal.

83. Missouri Compromise : Arkansas Debate ; first Missouri Debate ; *Northern opposition ; *Southern advocacy ; attitude on compromise of Clay, Calhoun, *J. Q. Adams, Thomas, Taylor, Monroe, Webster, Benton.

84. Monroe Doctrine : *Holy Alliance : description of a Latin-American republic ; Bolivar ; Russia on the northwest coast ; Congress of Verona ; attitude of Jefferson, Madison, *J. Q. Adams, *Calhoun, Rush,

Canning ; discussion in the cabinet ; arguments for the Panama Congress ; *arguments against it.

xv. Abolitionists

85. *Slave life : names ; dress ; quarters ; field work ; house service ; jollifications ; funerals ; overseers ; kind treatment ; cruel treatment ; instances of insurrection ; runaways ; auction sales ; setting free ; marriages.

86. Defence of slavery : *scriptural ; good of negro ; good of whites ; *Christianizing ; "positive good."

87. Arguments against slavery : bad effect on whites ; ignorance ; wastefulness ; cruelty ; *prosecutions for teaching slaves to read.

88. Interstate slavery : free negroes in the North ; free negroes in the South ; transit ; *runaways ; extradition of slave-traders ; **"Underground Railroad."

89. International slavery : cases of "Comet," "Enterprise," **"Creole," "L'Amistad" ; quintuple treaty.

90. Abolitionists : *Benjamin Lundy ; *William Lloyd Garrison ; John Rankin ; *Salmon P. Chase ; *Wendell Phillips ; *Charles Sumner ; William Ellery Channing ; Gerrit Smith ; Arthur Tappan ; Levi Coffin ; Theodore Parker ; Samuel J. May ; *Whittier ; Lowell ; Abby Kelly.

91. Slave episodes : an account of any one of the famous escapes or fugitive-slave trials before 1850, especially those of *Crafts, Box-Brown, Douglas, *Van Zandt, Kennedy, Latimer, Prigg, Ottoman.

xvi. Territorial Development

92. Jackson : military experience ; previous political experience ; *opinions on the bank ; on the tariff ; on internal improvements ; *on deposits ; on Van Buren ; on slavery ; on Calhoun ; on Clay ; "Kitchen Cabinet" ; specie circular.

93. Oregon : overland journeys ; early settlers ; *Marcus Whitman ; **"fifty-four forty or fight" ; fur-traders ; treaty of 1846.

94. Texas: Lone Star government; red-back notes; Clay's letters; annexation treaty; *debate on joint resolution; Sam Houston; Moses Austin.

95. Mexican War: claims against Mexico; capture of Santa Fé; *war in California; Lieutenant U. S. Grant; *General Taylor in Mexico; *General Scott in Mexico.

96. California: Frémont's expedition; accounts before 1846; accounts by Forty-niners; across the plains; around the Horn; across the Isthmus; *gold fields; miners' government; vigilance committees; constitutional convention of 1849; slaves.

97. Territorial crisis: *Wilmot proviso; *Lincoln in Congress; *Barn-burners; Buffalo Convention.

98. Compromise of 1850: Oregon Act; Walker amendment; Calhoun's resolutions; attitude of *Clay; *Webster; Seward; *Chase; Calhoun; *Jefferson Davis; Douglas.

xvii. Slavery Contest

99. Fugitive-slave cases: Hamlet; *Shadrach; Sims; *Christiana; Burns; Passmore-Williamson; Garner; *Oberlin-Wellington; Booth.

100. Cuba: Lopez expedition; Tripartite guaranty; Black Warrior; *Ostend Manifesto; Pierre Soulé.

101. Kansas-Nebraska Act: *Douglas's defence; **"Appeal of Independent Democrats"; attitude of Douglas, *Chase, Seward, Dixon, Toombs, *Pierce, Jefferson Davis.

102. Kansas: "border ruffians"; aid societies; a settler's experiences; *elections; first legislature; Topeka government; *John Brown; *Lecompton Convention; "English Bill."

103. John Brown: in Hudson; in Springfield; at North Elba; *plans for Harper's Ferry; *Harper's Ferry raid; *trial; *was he a murderer?

104. Election of 1860: *Lincoln-Douglas debate; "Freeport doctrine"; Charleston Convention; Chicago Convention; Baltimore Convention; campaign; threats of secession; Lincoln's part.

105. *Secession: of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi,

Florida, Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana ; saving of Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri.

106. Southern Confederacy : Congress at Montgomery ; new Constitution ; President Davis ; *Vice-President Stephens ; paper money ; seizure of forts ; *Fort Pickens ; Fort Sumter.

xviii. Civil War

107. *Abraham Lincoln : early life ; education ; feeling toward slavery ; cabinet-making ; attitude on compromise ; story-telling.

108. Advisers : *Seward ; *Chase ; Cameron ; *Stanton ; Bates ; Blair ; Smith ; Welles.

109. *Soldiers : first regiments to appear ; recruiting ; camp life ; hospitals ; drill ; on the march ; at the front ; deserters ; bounty-jumpers ; spies ; acts of heroism.

110. Battles : *Bull Run ; Fair Oaks ; Malvern Hill ; second Bull Run ; *Antietam ; Fredericksburg ; *Chancellorsville ; *Gettysburg ; *Pittsburg Landing ; Stone River ; *Chickamauga ; Chattanooga ; *Appomattox ; sieges of Atlanta, Vicksburg, Charleston, Petersburg.

111. Navy : blockaders ; *the "Alabama" ; *New Orleans ; Mobile ; **"Monitor" and "Merrimac."

112. Slavery : **"contrabands" ; Hilton Head ; *first proclamation ; final proclamation ; negro troops ; emancipation in Maryland, West Virginia, Missouri ; Thirteenth Amendment.

xix. Reconstruction

113. Southern whites : *a ruined plantation ; a town ; New Orleans ; Charleston ; Richmond ; a "carpet-bagger."

114. Negroes : land-buyers ; schools ; churches ; in Congress.

115. System of reconstruction : Lincoln's amnesty ; Johnson's amnesty ; Johnson's speeches, 1865-66 ; *attitude of Stevens, *Sumner, Wade, Chase, Butler ; *impeachment ; report of a military governor ; a constitutional convention ; a carpet-bag government ; the Ku Klux.

xx. Union Restored

116. Bad government: a Tweed contract; a Tweed judge; S. J. Tilden's reforms; Boss Shepherd in Washington; Belknap impeachment; *George William Curtis on reform.

117. Foreign relations: *Seward on the French in Mexico; Treaty of Washington; Geneva arbitration; northeastern fisheries.

118. Finances: debates on greenbacks, resumption, tariff, *demobilization of silver, 1873; *coinage act of 1878; the Greenback party.

119. Civil Service Reform: instances of removal; instances of doubtful appointments; *President Grant's attitude; the first commission; President Hayes; President Arthur; the Pendleton Act; *second commission.

120. Indians: account of a campaign; account of a reservation; an Indian speech; civilized Indians.

xxi. The Spanish War

121. Cuba before 1895: *a visit to Cuba; instances of Spanish mis-government; instances of seizure of property; *the "Virginius"; filibustering expeditions.

122. Second Cuban War: *reconcentrados; Americans in prison; the "Maine"; *debate on intervention; debate on declaring war.

123. Battles: *Manila; Guasimas; San Juan; *Santiago.

124. Peace: reports on the Philippines; debates on appropriation.

125. Administration: of Cuba; of Porto Rico; sanitary; police; schools; justice.

126. The Philippines: Dewey's government; Aguinaldo; the war.

CHAPTER I—DISCOVERIES

I. Discovery of the New World (1492)

A LETTER addressed to the noble Lord Raphael Sanchez, Treasurer to their most invincible Majesties, Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, by Christopher Columbus, to whom our age is greatly indebted, treating of the islands of India recently discovered beyond the Ganges, to explore which he had been sent eight months before under the auspices and at the expense of their said Majesties.

KNOWING that it will afford you pleasure to learn that I have brought my undertaking to a successful termination, I have decided upon writing you this letter to acquaint you with all the events which have occurred in my voyage, and the discoveries which have resulted from it. Thirty-three days after my departure from Cadiz I reached the Indian sea, where I discovered many islands, thickly peopled, of which I took possession without resistance in the name of our most illustrious Monarch, by public proclamation and with unfurled banners. To the first of these islands, which is called by the Indians Guanahani, I gave the name of the blessed Saviour (San Salvador), relying upon whose protection I had reached this as well as the other islands . . . As soon as we arrived at that, which as I have said was named Juana, I proceeded along its coast a short distance westward, and found it to be so large and apparently without termination, that I could not suppose it to be an island, but the continental province of Cathay. . . . In the mean time I had learned from some Indians whom I had seized, that that country was certainly an island: and therefore I sailed

Written in
1493 by
CHRISTO-
PHER CO-
LUMBUS
(about
1440-1506), a
Genoese in
the service of
Spain.—For
other letters
by Colum-
bus, see *Old
South Leaf-
lets*, No. 71;
*American
History Leaf-
lets*, No. 1;
*Contempora-
ries*, I, Nos.
17, 19.—For
an account,
by his son,
of the discovery
of America,
see *Old South
Leaflets*, No.
29.

Columbus
supposed
he had
neared Asia.
Guanahani=
probably
Watkins
Island.

Juana, now
Cuba.

towards the east, coasting to the distance of three hundred and twenty-two miles, which brought us to the extremity of it; from this point I saw lying eastwards another island, fifty-four miles distant from Juana, to which I gave the name of Española . . . All these islands are very beautiful, and distinguished by a diversity of scenery; they are filled with a great variety of trees of immense height, and which I believe to retain their foliage in all seasons; for when I saw them they were as verdant and luxuriant as they usually are in Spain in the month of May,—some of them were blossoming, some bearing fruit, and all flourishing in the greatest perfection, according to their respective stages of growth, and the nature and quality of each: yet the islands are not so thickly wooded as to be impassable. The nightingale and various birds were singing in countless numbers, and that in November, the month in which I arrived there. . . . The inhabitants . . . are very simple and honest, and exceedingly liberal with all they have; none of them refusing any thing he may possess when he is asked for it, but on the contrary inviting us to ask them. They exhibit great love towards all others in preference to themselves: they also give objects of great value for trifles, and content themselves with very little or nothing in return. I however forbade that these trifles and articles of no value (such as pieces of dishes, plates, and glass, keys, and leather straps) should be given to them, although if they could obtain them, they imagined themselves to be possessed of the most beautiful trinkets in the world. It even happened that a sailor received for a leather strap as much gold as was worth three golden nobles, and for things of more trifling value offered by our men, especially newly coined blancas, or any gold coins, the Indians would give whatever the seller required . . . On my arrival . . . I had taken some Indians by force from the first island that I came to, in order that they might learn our language . . .

Now San
Domingo.

Noble =
6s. 8d. =
about \$1.65.

Blanca, a
small silver
coin weigh-
ing about
47 grains.

These men are still travelling with me, and although they have been with us now a long time, they continue to entertain the idea that I have descended from heaven; and on our arrival at any new place they published this, crying out immediately with a loud voice to the other Indians, "Come, come and look upon beings of a celestial race": upon which both women and men, children and adults, young men and old, when they got rid of the fear they at first entertained, would come out in throngs, crowding the roads to see us, some bringing food, others drink, with astonishing affection and kindness. . . . Although all I have related may appear to be wonderful and unheard of, yet the results of my voyage would have been more astonishing if I had had at my disposal such ships as I required. But these great and marvellous results are not to be attributed to any merit of mine, but to the holy Christian faith, and to the piety and religion of our Sovereigns; for that which the unaided intellect of man could not compass, the spirit of God has granted to human exertions, for God is wont to hear the prayers of his servants who love his precepts even to the performance of apparent impossibilities. Thus it has happened to me in the present instance, who have accomplished a task to which the powers of mortal men had never hitherto attained; for if there have been those who have anywhere written or spoken of these islands, they have done so with doubts and conjectures, and no one has ever asserted that he has seen them, on which account their writings have been looked upon as little else than fables. Therefore let the king and queen, our princes and their most happy kingdoms, and all the other provinces of Christendom, render thanks to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has granted us so great a victory and such prosperity. . . .

Ferdinand
and Isabella.

For Norse
discoveries
of America,
see *Old South
Leaflets*, Nos.
30, 31; *Contem-
poraries*,
I, No. 16;
other voy-
ages, *Old
South Leaf-
lets*, Nos. 17,
34.

Select Letters of Christopher Columbus (translated by R. H. Major, in Hakluyt Society, *Works issued*, London, 1847),
1-17 *passim*.

Written in
1516 by
PETER
MARTYR
D'ANGHIERA
(1455-1526),
a Milanese,
resident at
the Spanish
court. The
account is
based on
information
given him by
Sebastian
Cabot, at
that time a
pilot in
the service of
Spain, and is
the first com-
plete narra-
tive of an
English voy-
age which we
have. — For
the Cabots,
see *Old South
Leaflets*, No.
37; *Ameri-
can History
Leaflets*, No.
9; *Contem-
poraries*, I,
No. 26.

36° north
latitude;
about the
latitude of
Cape Hat-
teras.

Fretum Her-
culeum =
Straits of
Gibraltar.

Baccallaos =
Newfound-
land?

2. An English Voyage to North America (1497)

... THESE northe seas haue byn [have been] searched by one Sebastian Cabot a Venetian borne [born], whom beinge yet but in maner an infante, his parentes caryed [carried] with them into Englande hauyng [having] occasion to resorte thereth [thither] for trade of marchandies [merchandise], as is the maner of the Venetians too leaue [leave] no parte of the worlde vnsearched to obteyne [obtain] richesse [riches]. He therfore furnisshed two shippes in England at his owne charges: And fyrist [first] with three hundred men, directed his course so farre toward the northe pole, that euen [even] in the mooneth [month] of July he founde monstrous heapes of Ise [ice] swimming on the sea, and in maner continuall day lyght. Yet sawe he the lande in that tracte, free from Ise, whiche had byn [been] molten by heate of the sunne. Thus seyng [seeing] suche heapes of Ise before hym he was enforced to tourne [turn] his sayles and folowe the weste, so coastynge stylly by the shore, that he was thereby broughte so farre into the southe by reason of the lande bendyng so muche southward that it was there almoste equall in latitude with the sea cauled [called] *Fretum Herculeum*, hauyng the north pole eleuate in maner in the same degree. He sayled lykewise in this tracte so farre towarde the weste, that he had the Ilande of *Cuba* [on] his lefte hande in maner in the same degree of langitude. As he traueyled [travelled] by the coastes of this greate lande (whiche he named *Baccallaos*) he sayth that he found the like course of the waters toward the west, but the same to runne more softly and gentelly [gently] then [than] the swifte waters whiche the Spanyardes found in their nauigations southeward.

Wherefore, it is not onely [only] more lyke to bee

trewe [true], but ought also of necessitie to bee concluded, that betwene both the landes hetherto vnknownen, there shulde bee certeyne great open places wherby the waters shulde thus continually passe from the East into the weste : which waters I suppose to bee dryuen [driven] about the globe of the earth by the vncessaunt mouynge [moving] and impulsion of the heauens : and not to be swallowed vp [up] and cast owt [out] agayne [again] by the breathynge of *Demogorgon* as sume [some] haue imagined bycause they see the seas by increase and decrease, to flowe and reflowe. Sebastian *Cabot* him selfe, named those landes *Baccallaos*, bycause that in the seas therabout he founde so great multitudes of certeyne [certain] bigge fysshes [fishes] much lyke vnto tunies [tunnies] (which th[e]inhabitantes caule [call] *Baccallaos*) that they sumtymes stayed his shippes. He founde also the people of those regions couered with beastes skynnes : yet not without th[e]use of reason.

As yet no notion that there was a continent between Europe and Asia.

An infernal deity.

These were the cod-fish.

Copper ore.

About 1512,
by Ferdinand
V of Spain.

He saythe [saith] also that there is greate plentie of beares in those regions, whiche vse to eate fysshe. For plungeinge theym selues [themselves] into the water where they perceue [perceive] a multitude of these fysshes to lye, they fasten theyr [their] clawes in theyr scales, and so drawe them to lande and eate them. So that (as he saith) the beares beinge thus satisfied with fysshe, are not noysom to men. He declareth further, that in many places of these regions, he sawe great plentie of laton amoneg th[e]inhabitantes. *Cabot* is my very frende, whom I vse famylierly, and delyte [delight] to haue hym sumtymes keepe mee company in myne owne house. For beinge cauled owt [out] of England by the commaundement of the catholyke kynge of Castile after the deathe of Henry kynge of Englande the seventh of that name, he was made one of owre [our] counsayle and assystance as touchynge the affayres [affairs] of the newe Indies, lookynge dayely for shippes to bee furnysshed for hym to discouer this hyd secrete of nature.

Frustrated by the death of Ferdinand in the preceding January.

For English claims based on Cabot's discoveries, see *Contemporaries*, I, No. 48.

This vyage is appoynted to bee begunne in March in the yeare next folowynge, beinge the yeare of Chryst M.D.XVI. What shall succeade, yowre [your] holynes shalbe aduertised by my letters if god graunte me lyfe [life]. Sume of the Spanyardes denye that Cabot was the fyrst fynder of the lande of *Baccallaos*: And affirme that he went not so farre westewarde. But it shall suffice to haue sayde thus much of the goulfes [gulfs] & strayghtes [straits], and of Cebastian Cabot. . . .

Peter Martyr, *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India* (translated by Richard Eden, London, 1555), Decade III, Book vi, fol. 118-119.

By FRANCISCO VASQUEZ CORONADO (1510-1542?), at this time Spanish governor of New Galicia. In his letter to the king of Spain he tells the story of the first explorations into the interior of what is now the United States.—For Coronado, see *Old South Leaflets*, No. 20; *American History Leaflets*, No. 13.—For other Spanish explorations, see *Old South Leaflets*, Nos. 35, 36, 39; *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 17-25.

3. A Spanish Exploration (1541)

HOLY CATHOLIC CÆSARIAN MAJESTY: On April 20 of this year [1541] I wrote to Your Majesty from this province of Tiguex, in reply to a letter from Your Majesty dated in Madrid, June 11 a year ago. . . . I started from this province on the 23d of last April, for the place where the Indians wanted to guide me. After nine days' march I reached some plains, so vast that I did not find their limit anywhere that I went, although I traveled over them for more than 300 leagues. And I found such a quantity of cows in these [plains] . . . which they have in this country, that it is impossible to number them, for while I was journeying through these plains, until I returned to where I first found them, there was not a day that I lost sight of them. And after seventeen days' march I came to a settlement of Indians who are called Querechos, who travel around with these cows, who do not plant, and who eat the raw flesh and drink the blood of the cows they kill, and they tan the skins of the cows, with which all the people of this country dress themselves here. They have little field tents made of the

hides of the cows, tanned and greased, very well made, in which they live while they travel around near the cows, moving with these. They have dogs which they load, which carry their tents and poles and belongings. These people have the best figures of any that I have seen in the Indies. They could not give me any account of the country where the guides were taking me. . . .

It was the Lord's pleasure that, after having journeyed across these deserts seventy-seven days, I arrived at the province they call Quivira, to which the guides were conducting me, and where they had described to me houses of stone, with many stories ; and not only are they not of stone, but of straw, but the people in them are as barbarous as all those whom I have seen and passed before this ; they do not have cloaks, nor cotton of which to make these, but use the skins of the cattle they kill, which they tan, because they are settled among these on a very large river. . . . The country itself is the best I have ever seen for producing all the products of Spain, for besides the land itself being very fat and black and being very well watered by the rivulets and springs and rivers, I found prunes like those of Spain . . . and nuts and very good sweet grapes and mulberries. I have treated the natives of this province, and all the others whom I found wherever I went, as well as was possible, agreeably to what Your Majesty had commanded, and they have received no harm in any way from me or from those who went in my company. . . . And what I am sure of is that there is not any gold nor any other metal in all that country, and the other things of which they had told me are nothing but little villages, and in many of these they do not plant anything and do not have any houses except of skins and sticks, and they wander around with the cows ; so that the account they gave me was false, because they wanted to persuade me to go there with the whole force, believing that as the way was through such uninhabited deserts, and from

Cows =
buffalo.

This is the
earliest ac-
count of the
Indians of
the plains.

Now Kansas

Coronado
got probably
as far as
eastern
Kansas.

In New
Mexico.

New Spain
= Mexico.

Rio Grande.

Pacific Ocean
and Gulf of
California
respectively.

the lack of water, they would get us where we and our horses would die of hunger. . . . I have done all that I possibly could to serve Your Majesty and to discover a country where God Our Lord might be served and the royal patrimony of Your Majesty increased, as your loyal servant and vassal. For since I reached the province of Cibola, to which the viceroy of New Spain sent me in the name of Your Majesty, seeing that there were none of the things there of which Friar Marcos had told, I have managed to explore this country for 200 leagues and more around Cibola, and the best place I have found is this river of Tiguex where I am now, and the settlements here. It would not be possible to establish a settlement here, for besides being 400 leagues from the North sea and more than 200 from the South sea, with which it is impossible to have any sort of communication, the country is so cold, as I have written to Your Majesty, that apparently the winter could not possibly be spent here, because there is no wood, nor cloth with which to protect the men, except the skins which the natives wear and some small amount of cotton cloaks. I send the viceroy of New Spain an account of everything I have seen in the countries where I have been, and as Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas is going to kiss Your Majesty's hands, who has done much and has served Your Majesty very well on this expedition, and he will give Your Majesty an account of everything here, as one who has seen it himself, I give way to him. And may Our Lord protect the Holy Imperial Catholic person of Your Majesty, with increase of greater kingdoms and powers, as your loyal servants and vassals desire. From this province of Tiguex, October 20, in the year 1541. Your Majesty's humble servant and vassal, who would kiss the royal feet and hands :

FRANCISCO VAZQUEZ CORONADO.

Coronado's letter to the king, October 20, 1541; translated by George Parker Winship, *The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542* (Washington, 1896), 580-583 *passim*.

4. An English Plundering Voyage (1578-1579)

WHEN Frances Drake had passed ye straytes [straits] of Magellan, the first land hee fell wth [with] was an Iland named Mocha, wher . . . hee wth ten of his company went on shore, thincking ther to have taken in fresh water. Two of the company going far into the Iland were intercepted and cut off[f] by the Indians that inhabite the Iland . . . They stayed heere but one day, but set sayle toward ye coast of Chile, wher ariving they met with an Indian in a canoa nere the shore, who thincking them to have bin [been] Spaniards, tould them that behind thē [them], at a place called St. Yago, there was a Spanish schip [ship], for w^{ch} [which] good nves [news] they gave him divers trifles. The Indian being ioyfull [joyful] therof went on shore and brought them ij. [2] sheepe and a small quantyty of fish, and so they returned back againe to St. Yago to seeke the Spanish ship (for they had overshot ye place before they were ware) ; and when they came thither, they found the same ship and in her 3 Negros and viij. [8] Spaniards ; they of the ship thincking Drakes [men] to have bin Spaniards, welcomed them with a drum, and made redy a great buttiro [butt] of wyne of Chile to have made them drinck ; but when Drakes men were entred, one of them, whose name was Tom Moone, strake ye Spanish pilate wth his fist of [on] the face, saying, Abassho Pirra, w^{ch} is to say in English, Go downe, dogg, and then the poore Spaniards being sore afayde went downe into the hould of the ship, all saving one of them, who leping out at the stern of the ship swam on shore, and gave warning to them of the towne of their com-
ing. When Drake had taken this ship and stowed the men vnder hatches, hee tooke her bote and his owne boote [boat] and manned them both wth his men, and went to set vpon

ANONYMOUS.
This brief abstract of Drake's voyage, famous from being the first English expedition to sail in the Pacific Ocean, coincides on the whole with the longer and better-known accounts, though it adds some things not noticed by them. There was no war between England and Spain, and Drake's voyage was a kind of private hostility, almost piracy. — For Drake, see *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 30, 31; on other English free-booters, *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 28, 29, 33.

Drake was a
Protestant.

20 pounds,
or a value of
\$300.

80 pounds, a
value of
about
\$40,000.

the towne of S. Yago . . . hee found there a chappell, w^{ch} he rifled and tooke from thence a chalice of silv^r and two cruets of silver . . . and the altar cloth, all w^{ch} hee tooke away with him and brought them on boord [board], and gave all the spoyle of that chappell to Mr. Fletcher, his precher, at his coming on boorde . . . Drake . . . set sayle and bent his course towards a place called Arica, where he found in the haven iij small barcks, and rifling them, he found in one of the [them] 57 slabs of fine silver weing [weighing] about 20^{li} weight eche [each] of them. These slabs were about the bignes of a brick batt eche one of them, and one of y^e two other barks was set on fire by one Fuller and one Tom Marcks, and so burned to the very water. There were not in those iij barcks one prson [person], for they mistrusting no theves were all gone on shore. In this towne of Arica were about 20 howses, which Drake would have set vpon if hee had had more company with him, but wanting company of pirates he depted [departed] hence, having still with him the Grand Capitaine of St. Yago ; but within one day after he was gone from this haven of Arica, he cast of[f] the Grand Capitaine, clapping her helme fast on the lee and let her drive to seaward without any creature in her. From hence hee sayled toward Lyma . . . At his departure from the haven of Lyma he cut all the cables of the ships there and let them drive to seaward, and so made speed toward Payta, thincking there to have founde the Cacafoga, but she was gone before he arived there toward Panama, whom he still followed amayne, but betwene Payta and Cape St. Franc[i]s hee met with a barck laden with ropes and tackell for shippes. This ship hee rifled, and found in her about 80^{li} weight of gould, and he tooke out of her greate quantyty of ropes to store his own ship, and so let her go. The owner of this ship was a frier. He found also in her a greate crucifix of goulde, and certaine emeralds neere as longe as a mans finger. From this robbery following still

after the Cacafoga, hee overtooke her at Cape St. Frances, whom hee had long wisshed for. In his iorney [journey] he pmised y^t [promised that] whosoever should overtake her should have his cheine [chain] of gould for his labour. This did John Drake descry on St. Davids day, being the first of March, about viij. of the clock in y^e afternone, and boorded her about v. of the clock ; and in the boording of her hee shot downe her misen mast, and so entred her, and found in her about 80*lb* weight of gould, and 13. chests full of royalls of plate, and so mooch [much] silver as did ballas[t] the Goulden Hinde. . . . the Pylats [pilot's] name was Don Francisco, who had two cupps of silver gilt clene over, to whom Drake said at his departure as followeth : Seignior Pilate, you have ij. cupps and I must needes have one of them, w^{ch} the Pilate yeelded vnto willingly, because he could not chuse. . . . Drake watered his ship and departed, sayling northwards till he came to 48. gr. of the septentrionall latitud, still finding a very lardge sea trending toward the north, but being afraid to spend long time in seeking for the straite, hee turned back againe, still keping along the cost [coast] as nere land as hee might, vntill hee came to 44. gr.. and thē [there] hee found a harborow [harbor] for his ship, where he groūded [grounded] his ship to trim her

Drake's ship.

48° north
latitude —
coast of
Oregon.Probably
San Fran-
cisco Bay.

Francis Fletcher, *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake* (Hakluyt Society, Works issued, London, 1854), Appendix iii, 178-184 *passim*.

5. The First English Exploration (1607)

MAY 21 [1607].—Thursday, the 21st of May, Capt. Newport (having fitted our shallop with provision and all necessaryes belonging to a discovery) tooke five

ANONY-
MOUS. From
a journal
kept by a
companion
of Captain
Christopher
Newport,

commander
of the vessels
that brought
over the
Jamestown
settlers. The
extract
describes
an exploring
voyage which
they made,
with Captain
John Smith
and twenty-
three others,
up the James
River from
Jamestown
to the Falls.
— For the
founding
of Virginia,
see *American
History Leaf-
lets*, No. 27;
*Contempora-
ries*, I, Nos.
62-64.

Near Haxall?

Usually
spelled
“weroance”
= chief.

gentlemen, four maryners, and fourteen saylors ; with whome he proceeded, with a perfect resolutyon not to returne, but either to finde the head of this ryver, the laake mentyoned by others heretofore, the sea againe, the mountaynes Apalatsi [Appalachian], or some issue. . . .

May 22, Fryday. — Omitting no tyme, we passed up some sixteen myle further, where we founde an ilet, on which were many turkeys, and greate store of young byrdes like black-birdes ; whereof wee tooke dyvers, which wee brake our fast withall. Now, spying eight salvages [savages] in a canoa, we haled them by our worde of kyndnes [kindness], “Wingapoh [good friends]”; and they came to us. In conference by signes with them, one seemed to understand our intentyon, and offred with his foote to describe the river to us : so I gave him a pen and paper (showing first the use), and he layd out the whole river from the Chesseian [Chesapeake] Bay to the end of it, so farr as passadg was for boats. . . .

May 23, Satturday. — We passed a few short reaches ; and, five mile of[f] Poore Cottage, we went ashore. Heer we found our kinde comrads againe, who had gyven notice all along as they came of us ; by which we were entertainyd with much courtesye in every place. We found here a wiroans (for so they call their kyngs), who satt upon a matt of reeds, with his people about him. He caused one to be layd for Capt. Newport ; gave us a deare [deer] roasted, which, according to their custome, they seethed [boiled] againe. His people gave us mullberyes, sodd [sodden] wheate, and beanes ; and he caused his weomen to make cakes for us. He gave our captain his crowne ; which was of deare’s hayre [hair], dyed redd. Certifying him of our intentyon [to go] up the ryver, he was willing to send guydes with us. . . . Now . . . newes came that the greate Kyng Powatah [Powhatan] was come . . . Him wee saluted with silence ; sitting still on our matts, our

captain in the myddest [midst] ; but presented (as before we dyd [did] to Kyng Arahatec) gyftes of dyvers sorts— as penny-knyves, sheeres [shears], belles, beades, glasse toyes, &c.— more amply then [than] before. Now, this king appointed five men to guyde us up the river, and sent posts before to provyde us victuall. . . . Now, the day drawing on, we made signe to be gone ; wherewith he was contented, and sent six men with us : we also left a man with him, and departed. But now, rowing some three myle in shold [shallow] water, we came to an overfall, impassible for boates any further. Here the water falles downe through great mayne [vast] rocks from ledges of rocks above, two fadome [fathom] highe ; in which fall it maketh divers little iletts, on which might be placed a hundred water-milnes [mills] for any uses. Our mayne ryver ebbs and flowes four foote, even to the skert of this downfall : shippes of two hundred or three hundred toone [ton] may come to within five myle hereof, and the rest [is] deepe inouge for barges or small vessels that drawe not above six foote water. Having viewed this place, betweene content and greefe [grief], we left it for this night, determyning the next day to fitt ourselfe for a march by land. . . .

May 24 . . . Now, sitting upon the banck by the overfall, beholding the sonne [sun], he [Powhatan] began to tell us of the tedyous travell we should have if wee proceeded any further ; that it was a daye and a halfe journey to Monanacah ; and, if we went to Quirauck, we should get no vittailes [victuals], and be tyred [tired] ; and sought by all meanes to dissuade our captayne from going any further. Also he tolde us that the Monanacah was his enemye ; and that he came downe at the fall of the leafe, and invaded his countreye. Now, what I conjecture of this I have left to a further experiance. But our captayne, out of his discretyon (though we would faine have seene further ; yea, and himselfe as desirous also), checkt his intentyon, and retorneed to his

Waterfalls,
or rather
rapids ;
present site
of the city of
Richmond.

An Indian
tribe at the
head of the
James River.

Quirauck =
the Blue
Ridge.

*J.e. James,
King.*

boate ; as holding it much better to please the kyng (with whome, and all of his command, he had made so faire way) then [than] to prosecute his owne fancye or satisfye our requests. So, upon one of the little iletts at the mouth of the falls, he sett up a crosse, with this inscriptyon, — “ Iacobus, Rex, 1607 ; ” and his owne name belowe. At the erecting hereof, we prayed for our kyng, and our owne prosperous succes in this his actyon [action]. . . . So farr as we could diserne the river above the overfall, it was full of huge rocks. About a myle of[f], it makes a pretty bigg island. It runnes up betweene highe hillles, which increase in height, one above another, so farr as wee sawe. Now, our kynde [kind] consort’s relatyon sayth (which I dare well beleeve, in that I found not any one report false of the river so farr as we tryed, or that he told us untruth in any thing els whatsoever), that, after a daye’s journey or more, this river devyds [divides] it selfe into two branches, which both wind from the mountaynes Quirauck. Here he whispered with me, that their caquassun [copper] was gott in the bites of rocks, and betweene cliffs in certayne vaynes [veins]. . . .

American Antiquarian Society, *Transactions and Collections* ([Boston,] 1860), IV, 40-48 *passim*.

By SAMUEL
SIEUR DE
CHAMPLAIN
(† 1635), a
French naval
officer,
founder of
Quebec, and
later gov-
ernor of
Canada.
The French
had discov-
ered the
river in 1534

6. A French Exploration (1615)

ON the 9th of the month [July, 1615] I embarked with two others, namely, one of our interpreters and my man, accompanied by ten savages in . . . two canoes . . .

We continued our voyage up the River St. Lawrence some six leagues . . .

Continuing our journey by land, after leaving the river of the Algonquins, we passed several lakes where the savages carry their canoes, and entered the lake of the Nipissings . . .

Thence I had them guide me to Carhagouha, which was fortified by a triple palisade of wood thirty-five feet high for its defence and protection. In this village Father Joseph was staying, whom we saw and were very glad to find well. . . . On the twelfth day of August the Recollect Father celebrated the holy mass, and a cross was planted near a small house apart from the village, which the savages built while I was staying there, awaiting the arrival of our men and their preparation to go to the war, in which they had been for a long time engaged. . . .

I was glad to find this opportunity for gratifying my desire of obtaining a knowledge of their country. It is situated only seven days from where the Dutch go to traffic . . . The savages there, assisted by the Dutch, make war upon them, take them prisoners, and cruelly put them to death ; and indeed they told us that the preceding year, while making war, they captured three of the Dutch, who were assisting their enemies, as we do the Attigouautans [a principal tribe of the Hurons], and while in action one of their own men was killed. . . .

On the 9th of the month of October our savages going out to reconnoitre met eleven savages, whom they took prisoners. They consisted of four women, three boys, one girl, and three men . . . one of the chiefs, on seeing the prisoners, cut off the finger of one of these poor women as a beginning of their usual punishment ; upon which I interposed and reprimanded the chief, Iroquet, representing to him that it was not the act of a warrior, as he declared himself to be, to conduct himself with cruelty towards women, who have no defence but their tears, and that one should treat them with humanity on account of their helplessness and weakness ; and I told him that on the contrary this act would be deemed to proceed from a base and brutal courage, and that if he committed any more of these cruelties he would not give me heart to assist them or favor them in the

(see *Contemporaries*, I, No. 35).

The French enmity with the Iroquois, begun in the manner described by Champlain below, became a matter of great importance in the subsequent struggles.—For Champlain's earlier exploration, see *Contemporaries*, I, No. 30; for other French explorations, *Old South Leaflets*, No. 46; *Contemporaries*, I, ch. v; II, ch. xvii.

Carhagouha = Saint Gabriel, in the township of Tiny, Simcoe County, Canada.

The Recollects were an order of monks.

Dutch trading place = Albany.—See *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 38, 40.

Cutting off fingers was a usual compliment of the Iroquois.

war. To which the only answer he gave me was that their enemies treated them in the same manner, but that, since this was displeasing to me, he would not do anything more to the women, although he would to the men.

The next day, at three o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived before the fort of their enemies, where the savages made some skirmishes with each other, although our design was not to disclose ourselves until the next day, which however the impatience of our savages would not permit, both on account of their desire to see fire opened upon their enemies, and also that they might rescue some of their own men who had become too closely engaged, and were hotly pressed. Then I approached the enemy, and although I had only a few men, yet we showed them what they had never seen nor heard before ; for, as soon as they saw us and heard the arquebus shots and the balls whizzing in their ears, they withdrew speedily to their fort, carrying the dead and wounded in this charge. We also withdrew to our main body, with five or six wounded, one of whom died.

This done, we withdrew to the distance of cannon range, out of sight of the enemy, but contrary to my advice and to what they [the Indian allies] had promised me. . . .

. . . the greater part of the savages began to carry wood against the palisades, but in so small quantity that the fire could have no great effect. There also arose such disorder among them that one could not understand another, which greatly troubled me. In vain did I shout in their ears and remonstrate to my utmost with them as to the danger to which they exposed themselves by their bad behavior, but on account of the great noise they made they heard nothing. Seeing that shouting would only burst my head, and that my remonstrances were useless for putting a stop to the disorder, I did nothing more, but determined together with my men to do what we could, and fire upon such as we could see.

In the original there is a capital picture of Champlain firing his arquebus, or rude gun.

For the purpose of setting fire to the fort.

Meanwhile the enemy profited by our disorder to get water and pour it so abundantly that you would have said brooks were flowing through their spouts, the result of which was that the fire was instantly extinguished, while they did not cease shooting their arrows, which fell upon us like hail. But the men on the cavalier [rampart] killed and maimed many. We were engaged in this combat about three hours, in which two of our chiefs and leading warriors were wounded, namely, one called *Ochatguain* and another *Orani*, together with some fifteen common warriors. The others, seeing their men and some of the chiefs wounded, now began to talk of a retreat without farther fighting, in expectation of the five hundred men, whose arrival could not be much delayed. Thus they retreated, a disorderly rabble.

Moreover the chiefs have in fact no absolute control over their men, who are governed by their own will and follow their own fancy, which is the cause of their disorder and the ruin of all their undertakings ; for, having determined upon anything with their leaders, it needs only the whim of a villain, or nothing at all, to lead them to break it off and form a new plan. Thus there is no concert of action among them, as can be seen by this expedition.

Now we withdrew into our fort . . . and . . . it was not possible to return again against their enemies, as I told them it was their duty to do. . . .

E. F. Slafter, editor, *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain* (translated by Charles Pomeroy Otis, in Prince Society, *Publications*, Boston, 1882), III, 111-134 *passim*.

CHAPTER II—CONDITIONS OF SETTLEMENT

By JOHN
EVELYN
(1620-1706),
a man inti-
mate with
many distin-
guished con-
temporaries,
a type of
an accom-
plished and
public-spir-
ited gentle-
man of the
seventeenth
century. His
diary is one
of the best
mirrors of the
period, and
illustrates the
life of gentle-
men, like
Winthrop
and Penn,
who came to
America.—
For an earlier
description of
England, see
Contempora-
ries, I, No. 44.

"Mock-
parlia-
ment-
men" =
members of
the "Long
Parliament."

Punishment
by fire disap-
peared about
forty years
later.

7. Life in England (1652-1668)

MARCH 6 [1652]. Saw the magnificent funeral of that Arch-rebell Ireton, carried in pomp from Somerset House to Westm^r [Westminster], accompanied with divers regiments of souldiers horse and foote; then marched y^e mourners, Gen^l. Cromwell (his father-in-law), his mock-parliament-men, officers, and 40 poore men in gownes, 3 led horses in housings of black cloth, 2 led in black velvet, and his charging-horse all cover'd over with embroidery and gold on crimson velvet; then the guydons [flags], ensignes, 4 heralds carrying the armes of the State (as they cal'd it), namely, y^e red crosse and Ireland, with the casq[ue], wreath, sword, spurrs, &c.; next, a chariot canopied of black velvet and 6 horses, in which was the corps[e]; the pall held up by the mourners on foote; the mace and sword, with other marks of his charge in Ireland (where he died of y^e plague), carried before in black scarfs. Thus in a grave pace, drums cover'd with cloth, souldiers reversing their armes, they proceeded through the streetes in a very solemn manner. . . .

10 May. Passing by Smithfield I saw a miserable creature burning who had murder'd her husband. I went to see some workmanship of that admirable artist Reeves, famous for perspective and turning curiosities in ivorie. . . .

11 [June]. . . . The weather being hot, and having sent my man on before, I rod[e] negligently under favour of the shade, till within three miles of Bromley, at a place

call'd the Procession Oake, two cut-throates started out, and striking with long staves at y^e horse and taking hold of the reines threw me downe, tooke my sword, and haled me into a deepe thickett some quarter of a mile from the highway, where they might securely rob me, as they soone did. What they got of money was not considerable, but they took two rings, the one an emerald with diamonds, the other an onyx, and a pair of bouckles set with rubies and diamonds, which were of value, and after all bound my hands behind me, and my feete, having before pull'd off my bootes ; they then set me up against an oake, wth most bloudy threats to cutt my throat if I offer'd to crie out or make any noise, for they should be within hearing, I not being the person they looked for. I told them if they had not basely surpriz'd me they should not have had so easy a prize, and that it would teach me never to ride neere an hedge, since had I ben in y^e mid-way they durst not have adventur'd on me ; at which they cock'd their pistols, and told me they had long guns too, and were 14 companions. I begg'd for my onyx, and told them it being engraven with my armes would betray them, but nothing prevail'd. . . .

. . . I heard afterwards that had it not been for his companion, a younger man, he would probably have kill'd me. He was afterwards charg'd with some other crime, but refusing to plead, was press'd to death. . . .

25 [Dec.]. Christmas day, no sermon any where, no Church being permitted to be open, so observ'd it at home. The next day we went to Lewesham, where an honest divine preach'd.

31 Dec. I adjusted all accompts, and render'd thanks to Almighty God for his mercys to me the yeare past. . . .

11 April [1653]. I went to take the aire in Hide Park, where every coach was made to pay a shilling, and horse 6d. by the sordid fellow who had purchas'd it of the State as they were cal'd. . . .

Such adventures with highwaymen were frequent in those times.

So in New England at this time.

I.e. of Cromwell's government.

11 [May, 1654]. I now observed how the women began to paint themselves, formerly a most ignominious thing. . . .

10 [July]. On Monday I went againe to y^e Scholes [schools] to heare the severall Faculties, and in y^e afternoone tarried out the whole Act in St. Marie's, the long speeches of the Proctors, the Vice-Chancellor, the severall Professors, creation of Doctors by y^e cap, ring, kisse, &c. those antient ceremonies and institution being as yet not wholly abolish'd. Dr. Kendal, now Inceptor amongst others, performing his Act incomparably well, concluded it with an excellent oration, abating his Presbyterian animosities, which he withheld not even against that learned and pious divine Dr. Hammond. . . .

Went back to Cadenham, and on y^e 19th to Sir Ed. Baynton's at Spie Park, a place capable of being made a noble seate ; but the humourous old Knight has built a long single house of 2 low stories on y^e precipice of an incomparable prospect, and landing on a bowling greene in y^e park. The house is like a long barne, and has not a window on y^e prospect side. After dinner they went to bowles, and in the meantime our coach-men were made so exceedingly drunk, that in returning home we escap'd greate dangers. This it seems was by order of the Knight, that all gentlemen's servants be so treated ; but the custome is barbarous, and much unbecoming a Knight, still lesse a Christian. . . .

22 July. We departed and din'd at a ferme [farm] of my uncle Hungerford's, call'd Darneford Magna, situate in a vally under y^e plaine, most sweetly water'd, abounding in trouts catch'd by speare in the night when they come attracted by a light set in y^e sterne of a boate. . . .

[8 July, 1656]. I had y^e curiosity to visite some Quakers here in prison ; a new phanatic [fanatic] sect, of dangerous principles, who shew no respect to any man, magistrate or other, and seeme a melancholy proud sort of people, and

At Oxford,
"schools"
mean examinations;
the ceremony
corresponds
to our
Commencement.

Inceptor =
candidate for
degree of
master of
arts.

Evelyn was
fond of beau-
tiful views
and land-
scape gar-
dening.

Evelyn's
ideals of
conduct were
stricter than
those gen-
erally enter-
tained by the
nobility of the
Restoration
period.

For New
England
Quakers, see
below, No.
30.

exceedingly ignorant. One of these was said to have fasted 20 daies, but another endeavouring to do y^e like, perish'd on the 10th, when he would have eaten but could not. . . .

1668. 8 Jan. I saw deepe and prodigious gaming at the Groome-Porters, vast heapes of gold squander'd away in a vaine and profuse manner. This I looked on as a horrid vice and unsuitable in a Christian Court.

John Evelyn, *Memoirs* (edited by William Bray, London, 1819), I, 261-412 *passim*.

For the government of England, see *Old South Leaflets*, Nos. 5, 6, 19, 23-28, 57-64.

8. Reasons for Emigration (1641)

WHEN a Kingdom beginneth to be over-burthened with a multitude of people (as *England* and *Scotland* now do) to have a convenient place where to send forth Colonies is no smal benefit: And such are the North-east and North-west parts of *America*, betweene the degrees of 25. and 45. of the North latitude, which, at this time doe even offer themselves unto us, to bee protected by us, against the knowne cruelty of the over-neare approaching Spaniard.

A very large tract of ground containing spacious, healthfull, pleasant, and fruitfull countries, not only apt, but already provided of all things necessary for mans sustentation, Corne, Grasse, and wholsome cattell [cattle] in good competencie; but Fish, Fowle, Fruits and Herbes in abundant variety.

If wee should looke no further, then [than] the South of *Virginia*, (which is our owne) wee shall find there all manner of provision for life; besides Merchantable Commodities, Silke, Vines, Cotton, Tobacco, Deer-skins, Goat-skins, rich Furre, and Beavers good store, Timber, Brasse, Iron, Pitch, Tarre, Rosin; and almost all things necessary for shipping, which if they shall bee employed that way; they who are sent away may (with Gods blessing) within short

By REV-
EREND WIL-
LIAM CAS-
TELL (†1645),
a clergyman
of the Church
of England,
who was
much inter-
ested in the
colonization
of America
and the con-
version of
the Indians
there. The
extract is
from a peti-
tion to
Parliament.
— For other
reasons for
colonization,
see *Contem-
poraries*, I,
ch. vi.

From 25° to
45° = from
southern
Florida to
Maine.

Found in
California
two centuries
later.

For opinions
of Spain, see
Contemporaries, I, Nos.
25, 30, 46.

Ultimately
the ruin of
Spain.

Bull of 1494.
—See *Contemporaries*,
I, No. 18.

time in due recompence of their setting forth, returne this Kingdome store of silver and gold, pearles and precious stones ; for undoubtedly (if there be not a generall mistake in all Authors, who have written of these places) such treasure is to bee had, if not there, yet in places not farre remote, where (as yet) the Spaniard hath nothing to doe. And in case the Spaniard will bee troublesome to our Plantations, or shall (as it is generally conceived) bee found an Enemy to this Kingdome, there is no way more likely to secure *England*, then [than] by having a strong Navie there ; hereby wee may come to share, if not utterly to defeat him of that vaste Indian Treasure, wherewith hee setteth on fire so great a part of the Christian World, corrupteth many Counsellors of state, supporteth the Papacie, and generally perplexeth all reformed Churches.

Nor need any scrupulous quere [query] bee made, whether wee may not assault an enemy in any place, or not esteeme them such as shall assault us in those places, where wee have as much to doe as they. The Spaniard claimeth indeed an Interest, little lesse then hereditarie in almost all *America*, and the *West Indies*, but it is but by vertue of the Popes grant, which is nothing worth, as was long since determined by Queene *Elizabeth*, and her Councell ; so as for the Spaniard to debarre us in the liberty of our Plantations, or freedome of commerce in those spacious countries, were over proudly to take upon him ; and for us to permit it were over-much to yeeld of our own right.

Especially, when we may, as now we may, so easily helpe our selves : For your Petitioner conceiveth there is no great difficulty in the preparation here, or tediousnesse in the passage thither, or hazard when wee come there. The preparation of men and shipping, in respect of the daily happy expected accord betweene us and the *Scots*, is (upon the matter) already made ; and as for money it is in the power of this Honourable House to give sufficient, without

any grievance, or dislike of the Commonwealth, who (undoubtedly) in the generall will thinke nothing grievous, which shall bee concluded by your wisedomes, expedient to such a pious and charitable worke.

And as for the passage, how can it be thought either tedious or dangerous. it being ordinarily but six weekes sayle, in a sea much more secure from Pirats, and much more free from shipwrack, and enemies coasts, then [than] our ten or twelve moneths voyage into the *East-Indies*. And as for our good successe there, wee need not feare it. The natives being now every where more then [than] ever, out of an inveterate hatred to the Spaniard, ready and glad to entertaine us. Our best friends the Netherlanders being with eight and twenty ships gone before to assist and further us. And which is much more, our going with a generall consent in Gods cause, for the promoting of the Gospel, and inlarging of his Church, may assure us of a more then [than] ordinary protection and direction. That hitherto wee have beene lesse succesfull in our voyage that way, wee may justly impute it to this, that as yet they have not beene undertaken with such a generall consent, and with such a full reference to Gods glory as was requisite.

See below,
No. 16.

A Petition of W. C. exhibited to the High Court of Parliament . . . for the Propagating of the Gospel in America . . . (1641), 11-15.

9. Indian Life (1609-1613)

TO giue sum [some] satisfaction to my frends and contentment unto others, w^{ch} wish well to this viage [voyage], and are desir[o]us to heare y^e fashions of that cuntrye : I haue set doun [down] as well as I can, what I obserued in y^e time I was amonge them. And therfore first concerninge ther [their] gods, yow [you] must understand that for y^e

By HENRY SPELMAN (1600-1622), who came to Virginia as a boy, was captured by the Indians in 1614, and lived among them for several years.

He thus acquired an intimate personal knowledge of their ways.—For Indians and their relations with the colonists, see *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 40, 60, 91, 92, 123, 127, 133, 134, 147, 162; II, ch. xviii.

This would not hold true of the Indians of Mexico and Central America.

most part they worship y^e diuell [devil], w^{ch} y^e couniurers [conjurers] who are ther preests, can make apeare unto them at ther pleasuer, yet neuer y^e less [nevertheless] in euery cuntry they haue a seuerall Image whom they call ther god. . . .

PLACES of Habitation they haue but feaw [few] for y^e greatest toune [town] have not aboue 20 or 30 houses in it, Ther Biuldinge [buildings] are made like an ouen w^t [with] a litell [little] hole to cum [come] in at But more spatius [spacious] w^t in [within] hauinge a hole in the midest of y^e house for smoke to goe out at, The Kinges houses are both broader and longer then y^e rest hauinge many darke windinges and turnings before any cum wher the Kinge is, But in that time when they goe a Huntinge y^e weomen goes to a place apoynted before, to biuld houses for ther husbands to lie in att night carienge [carrying] matts w^t them to couer ther houses w^t all [withal], and as the men goes furthur a huntinge the weomen follows to make houses, always carrienge ther mattes w^t them ther maner of ther Huntinge is thiss they meett sum 2 or 300 togither and hauinge ther bowes and arrows and euery one w^t a fier [fire] sticke in ther hand they besett a great thikett round about, w^{ch} dunn [done] every one sett fier on the ranke grass w^{ch} y^e Deare seinge [seeing] fleeth from y^e fier, and the menn cumminge [coming] in by a litell and little [little and little] incloseth ther game in a narrow roome, so as w^t ther Bowes and arrowes they kill them at ther pleasuer takinge ther skinns w^{ch} is the greatest thinge they desier, and sume flesh for ther prouision. . . .

The English caused much confusion of thought by calling savage chiefs "kings."

THE King is not know[n] by any differenc[e] from other of y^e chefe sort in y^e cuntry but only when he cumms to any of ther howses they present him w^t copper Beads or Vitall [victual]. and shew much reuerence to him

The preest are shauen on y^e right side of ther head close to the scull only a litle locke leaft [left] at y^e eare and sum of thes haue beards But y^e common people haue no beards at all for they pull away ther hares [hairs] as fast as it growes And they also cutt y^e heares on y^e right side of ther heade that it might not hinder them by flappinge about ther bow stringe, when they draw it to shoott, But on y^e other side they lett it grow and haue a long locke hanginge doun [down] ther shoulder,

So to-day
among the
Indians.

AS for Armoure or dissipline in ware [war] the[y] haue not any. The weapons they vse for offence are Bowes and Arrowes w^t a weapon like a hammer and ther Tomahaucks for defence w^{ch} are shi[e]lds made of the barke of a tree and hanged on ther leaft shoulder to couer that side as they stand forth to shoothe

They neuer fight in open fields but always e[i]ther amonege reede or behind trees takinge ther oportunitie to shoot at ther enimies and till they can nocke [notch] another arrow they make the trees ther defence

In y^e time that I was ther I sawe a Battell [battle] fought betwene the Patomeck [Potomac] and the Masomeck, ther place wher they fought was a marish [marsh] ground full of Reede Beinge in the cuntry of the Patomecke the peopel of Masomeck weare [were] brought thether in Canoes w^{ch} is a kind of Boate they haue made in the forme of an Hogg A dugout. trowgh [trough] But sumwhat more hollowed in, On Both sid[e]s they scatter them selues sum litle distant one from the other, then take they ther bowes and arrows and hauinge made ridie [ready] to shoot they softly steale toward ther enimies, Sumtime squattinge doun and priinge [prying] if they can spie any to shoot at whom if at any time he so Hurteth that he can not flee they make hast[e] to him to knock him on the heade . . .

WHEN they meet at feasts or otherwise they vse sprorts [sports] much like to ours heare [here] in England as ther daunsinge [dancing], w^{ch} is like our darby-sher [Derbyshire] Hornepipe a man first and then a woman and so through them all, hanging all in a round, ther is one w^{ch} stand in the midest w^t a pipe and a rattell [rattle] w^t w^{ch} when he beginns to make a noyes [noise] all the rest Gigetts [whirl] about wriinge [wryting] ther neckes and stampinge on y^e ground

They vse beside football play, w^{ch} wemen and young boyes doe much play at. The men neuer They make ther Gooles [goals] as ours only they neuer fight nor pull one another doun

The men play w^t a litel balle lettinge it fall out of ther hand and striketh it w^t the tope of his foot, and he that can strike the ball furthest winns that they play for.

Henry Spelman, *Relation of Virginia* (edited by J. F. Hunnewell, London, 1872), 11-19 *passim*.

By JOHN SADLER, an emigration broker, or agent, at Red Lion, in Bucklersbury, England. Lady Verney had consulted him about the outfit necessary for her son, who was going out to Virginia; Sadler gave the following advice. Of

10. Requirements of an Emigrant (1634)

IF it will please sir Edmund and your ladyshipp to bee ruled by my aduise, your sonne shoold [should] have with him iij [3] seruants at least, which may bee had heare [here] at a dayes warninge ; if I were to send 40 servants I coold [could] have them heere at a dayes warninge ; but, indede, I desierd [desired], if it were possible, to have him bringe a cooper out of the country, which wee cannot get soe redily heare. Euery servant hee sends over will stand him in xiij [for] his passage and apparel fit for him, with other charges. After his cumming into Verginniae, I doubt nott but by frends I have there hee shall bee well acomo-

dated for his owne person, and at a resonable rate, and his men maye likewise be taken of[f] his hande and dyated [dietet] for theyre [their] worke for the first yeare, and with some advantage to your sonne besides ; then the next yeare, if hee shall like the cuntry, and bee mynded to staye and settell a plantation him selfe, those servants will bee seasoned, and bee enabled to direct such others as shall bee sent vnto him from hence hearafter, or if hee shall nott like the cuntry, then hee maye sell theyre tyme they haue to serve him vnto other men that haue neede of servants, and make a good bennifitt of them, as alsoe of all such things as he shall carry with him, for ther is nothinge that wee carry from hence but if it cost 20s. heare in England they doe geeve [give] there for it 30s.

Now, for his owne proper acomodation, I must intreat your ladiship that hee maye bring vp with him a fether bed, bolster, pillow, blanketts, rugg, and 3 payre [pair] of sheets, vnless you will please they shalbee bought heare ; it is but a spare horse the more to bring them vp. And lett nott his staye bee longer. If hee had cum vp nowe, I had then bespoack [bespoke] for him that acomodation (in regard of the intimasie I haue with the owners of the shipp) which he cannott haue in every shipp that goeth thether ; for hee shouold haue layne in the great cabbin, which is more then [than] an ordenary curtesie ; but I am afeard if the wynde cum fayre [fair] for them to bee gon, that theye will not staye past iij. or iiij. dayes longer at most. But, howe ever, ther shalbee nothinge wantinge in mee toe doe the best I can to gett him the best acomodation I maye in some other shipp, if hee doe cum toe [too] late.

Maddam, the reson why I intreat your ladyshipp that hee may haue with him for his owne particular vse a fether bed, bolster, blanquette, rugg, curtaynes, and vallence is, that, althogh many howshowlds [households] in Verginia ar[e] soe well provided as to enterteyne a stranger with all thinges

course, many other emigrants came over who had little except their two hands as capital.—See *Contemporaries*, I, No. 50.

"xijli" = £12,
perhaps the equivalent of \$200 now.

I.e. a pack-horse to carry them.

necessary for the belly, yeat [yet] few or non[e] ar[e] better provided for the back as yeat then [than] to serve theyre own turnes ; therfore tis necessary that hee bee provided of that for more assurance.

Now if it will please your ladishipp that he maye haue ij. men with him, I haue hear inclosed sent a noate [account], as neare calculated as I can, what the charges will bee of ij. men, as alsoe a nother noate added ther vnto of such things as tis necessary hee doe carry over for sale ; som part of them to purchass corne against next year, as well for theys [those] seruants hee now carrieys as for those he shall haue sent him next yeare, and for more assurance least [lest] there shouold happen to bee a scarcety [scarcity] in the country, which some tymes dooth soe fall out through the covetousnes of the planters, that strive to plant much tobacco and littell corne ; soe that want comes vpon som of them beefore they are aware of it.

Corn =
grain, not
Indian corn.

I.e. liquors.

I haue alreddy bought the flower, the fowling peeces, the stronge waters, and the grosery wares, and for the rest I haue sought them out and know where to bee fitted with them at halfe a dayes warninge, but I durst nott proseed in buyinge them vntill I might heare farther your pleasure, which I coold wish might bee by him selfe vpon Satterdaye next by noone, and then I hoape [hope] in the after noone I might dispa[t]ch all, and hee might cum time enough toe goe awaye in this shipp, where I soe much desier hee shouold goe for the good acomodation that I am suer [sure] hee shouold haue there.

About \$95
each, per-
haps equal to
\$300 now.

This charge for him selfe and ij. men, with the provisions which is needfull for him to carry, will cum toe 56^{ii} [$56\mathcal{L}$], littell more or less ; and if you shall think fitt toe [to] lett him haue a third man it is but xij^{ii} [$12\mathcal{L}$] more, and truly it is the opinion of all that I haue or can conferr with all, that it is a greate deale better for him to have som seasoned men of his owne, when hee goes to settell a plantation him

selfe, then to haue all fresh men, because those men maye bee inable to direct others that hee shall haue hearafter.

John Bruce, editor, *Letters and Papers of the Verney Family*
(Camden Society, London, 1853), 160-162.

No. 11 is by JOHN JOSSELYN, a traveller who paid two visits to New England, in 1638-39 and 1663-71 respectively. Shortly after his return from his second trip he published the book from which extracts are given below. Though as a historian he is often inaccurate, his observations are valuable, and he writes in sprightly style.—For other pieces by Josselyn, see *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 125, 145.—On New England, see *Contemporaries*, I, Part V.

Nantasket, at the entrance to Boston Harbor.

A ketch was a small two-masted vessel.

The southern White Mountains.

The so-called "intervales."

11. Some Rarities of New England (1663-1671)

THE Six and twentieth [of July, 1663] we had sight of land.

The Seven and twentieth we Anchored at *Nantasket*, in the afternoon I went aboard of a *Ketch*, with some other of our passengers, in hope to get to *Boston* that night; but the Master of the *Ketch* would not consent.

The Eight and twentieth being *Tuesday*, in the morning about 5 of the clock he lent us his *Shallop* and three of his men, who brought us to the western end of the town where we landed, and having gratified the men, we repaired to an Ordinary (for so they call their Taverns there) where we were provided with a liberal cup of burnt Madera-wine, and store of plum-cake, about ten of the clock I went about my Affairs. . . .

The shore is Rockie, with high cliffs, having a multitude of considerable Harbours; many of which are spacious enough for a Navy of 500 sail, one of a thousand, the Countrie within Rockie and mountainous, full of tall wood, one stately mountain there is surmounting the rest, about four score mile from the Sea: The description of it you have in my rarities of *New-England*, between the mountains are many ample rich . . . valleys as ever eye beheld, beset on each side with variety of goodly Trees, the grass man-high unmowed, uneaten and uselessly withering; within these val-

I.e. original
source.

leys are spacious lakes or ponds well stored with Fish and Beavers ; the original of all the great Rivers in the Countrie, of which there are many with lesser streams (wherein are an infinite of fish) manifesting the goodness of the soil . . . The whole Countrie produceth springs in abundance replenished with excellent waters, having all the properties ascribed to the best in the world. . . .

Frogs too there are in ponds and upon dry land, they chirp like Birds in the spring, and latter end of summer croak like Toads. . . .

The Toad is of two sorts, one that is speckled with white, and another of a dark earthy colour ; there is of them that will climb up into Trees and sit croaking there ; but whether it be of a third sort, or one of the other, or both, I am not able to affirm ; but this I can testifie that there be Toads of the dark coloured kind that are as big as a groat loaf. . . .

A groat was
four pence.

Now before I proceed any further, I must (to prevent misconstructions) tell you that these following Creatures, though they be not properly accounted Serpents, yet they are venomous and pestilent Creatures. As, first the Rat, but he hath been brought in since the *English* came thither, but the Mouse is a Native, of which there are several kinds not material to be described ; the Bat or flitter mouse is bigger abundance than any in *England* and swarm, which brings me to the insects or cut-wa[i]sted Creatures again, as first the honey-Bee, which are carried over by the *English* and thrive there exceedingly . . . But the wasp is common, and they have a sort of wild humble-Bee that breed in little holes in the earth. Near upon twenty years since there lived an old planter at *Black-point*, who on a Sunshine day about one of the clock lying upon a green bank not far from his house, charged his Son, a lad of 12 years of age to awaken him when he had slept two hours, the old man falls asleep and lying upon his back gaped with his mouth wide [open] . . . after a little while the lad sit-

ting by spied a humble-Bee creeping out of his Fathers mouth, which taking wing flew quite out of sight, the hour as the lad ghest [guessed] being come to awaken his Father he jogg'd him and called aloud Father, Father, it is two a clock, but all would not rouse him, at last he sees the humble-Bee returning, who lighted upon the sleepers lip and walked down . . . and presently he awaked. . . .

The Diseases that the *English* are afflicted with, are the same that they have in *England*, with some proper to *New-England* . . .

. . . they are troubled with a disease in the mouth or throat which hath proved mortal to some in a very short time, Quinsies, and Impostumations of the Almonds [tonsils], with great distempers of cold. Some of our *New-England* writers affirm that the *English* are never or very rarely heard to sneeze or cough, as ordinarily they do in *England*, which is not true. For a cough or stitch upon cold, Wormwood, Sage, Marygolds, and Crabs-claws boiled in posset-drink and drunk off very warm, is a sovereign medicine. . . .

Catts and *Dogs* are as common as in *England*, but our *Dogs* in time degenerate; yet they have gallant *Dogs* both for fowl & wild Beasts all over the Countrey: the *Indians* store themselves with them, being much better for their turns, than their breed of wild dogs . . .

Of *English* Poultry too there is good store, they have commonly three broods in a year; the hens by that time they are three years old have spurs like the Cock, but not altogether so big, but as long, they use to crow often, which is so rare a thing in other Countries, that they have a proverb *Gallina recinit a Hen crowes*. . . .

John Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England*
(London, 1675), 41-193 *passim*.

Possibly diphtheria.

Tonsilitis.

Posset = a drink composed of hot milk and liquor.

By THOMAS ASH, a clerk on board his majesty's ship Richmond, sent out to Carolina in 1680 with special royal instructions to inquire into the state of that province. Ash gives the earliest account of the English settlers in Carolina before their settlement of Charleston. One of the chief reasons of the success of the English colonies lay in the fact that they settled inside the corn belt, which furnished unfailing food.

— For the Carolinas, see *Contemporaries*, I, ch. xii; for corn, *Contemporaries*, I, No. 66.

Corn whiskey, made by a still.

12. Praise of Indian Corn (1682)

. . . BUT now their *Gardens* begin to be supplied with such *European Plants and Herbs* as are necessary for the Kitchen, viz. *Potatoes, Lettice, Coleworts* [cabbage], *Parsnip, Turnip, Carrot* and *Reddish*: Their *Gardens* also begin to be beautified and adorned with such *Herbs and Flowers* which to the Smell or Eye are pleasing and agreeable, viz. *The Rose, Tulip, Carnation* and *Lilly*. &c. Their Provision which grows in the Field is chiefly *Indian Corn*, which produces a vast Increase, yearly, yielding Two plentiful Harvests, of which they make wholesome Bread, and good Bisket, which gives a strong, sound, and nourishing Diet; with Milk I have eaten it dress'd various ways: Of the Juice of the Corn, when green, the *Spaniards* with *Chocolet*, aromatiz'd with *Spices*, make a rare Drink, of an excellent Delicacy. I have seen the *English* amongst the *Caribbes* roast the green Ear on the Coals, and eat it with a great deal of Pleasure: The *Indians* in *Carolina* parch the ripe Corn, then pound it to a Powder, putting it in a Leathern Bag: When they use it, they take a little quantity of the Powder in the Palms of their Hands, mixing it with Water, and sup it off: with this they will travel several days. In short, it's a Grain of General Use to Man and Beast, many thousands of both kinds in the *West Indies* having from it the greater part of their Subsistence. The *American Physicians* observe that it breeds good Blood, removes and opens *Oppellations* and *Obstructions*. At *Carolina* they have lately invented a way of makeing with it good sound Beer; but it's strong and heady: By *Maceration*, when duly fermented, a strong Spirit like *Brandy* may be drawn off from it, by the help of an *Alembick*.

T[homas] A[sh], *Carolina; or a Description of the Present State of that Country* (London, 1682), 13-14.

CHAPTER III—FIRST ERA OF COLONIZATION

13. Settlement of Virginia (1607)

HONOURABLE Gentlemen, for so many faire and nauigable Riuers so neere adioyning [adjoining], and piercing thorow [through] so faire a naturall Land, free from any inundations, or large Fenny vnwholsome Marshes, I haue not seene, read, nor heard of: And for the building of Cities, Townes, and Wharfage, if they will vse the meanes, where there is no more ebbe nor floud [flood], Nature in few places affords any so conuenient, for salt Marshes or Quagmires. In this tract of *James* Towne Riuier I know very few; some small Marshes and Swamps there are, but more profitable then [than] hurtfull: and I thinke there is more low Marsh ground betwixt *Eriffe* and *Chelsey*, then [than] *Kecoughton* and the Falls, which is about one hundred and eighty miles by the course of the Riuier.

Being enioyned [enjoined] by our Commission not to vnplant nor wrong the Saluages [savages], because the channell was so neere the shore, where now is *James* Towne, then a thicke groue of trees; wee cut them downe, where the Saluages pretending as much kindnesse as could bee, they hurt and slew one and twenty of vs in two houres: At this time our diet was for most part water and bran, and three ounces of little better stuffe in bread for fие men a meale, and thus we liued neere three moneths: our lodgings vnder boughes of trees, the Saluages being our enemies, whom we neither knew nor vnderstood; occasions I thinke sufficient to make men sick and die.

Written in
1626 by
CAPTAIN
JOHN SMITH
(1580-1631),
soldier, ex-
plorer, colo-
nist, and later
president of
Virginia.
Though he
was some-
what boastful
in relating
his personal
exploits, it is
largely due to
his efforts
that the
Jamestown
colony suc-
ceeded. In
spite of
obvious ex-
aggerations,
Smith's
books are
valuable con-
temporary
records from
one who had
the best of
opportunities
for observa-
tion.—For
other pieces
by Smith, see
Humphrey,
*Colonial
Tracts*, Nos.
13, 14; *Amer-
ican History
Leaflets*, No.
27; *Contem-*

poraries, I, Nos. 62, 90.
— For Virginia, see *Contemporaries*, I, chs. ix, x; *Am. Hist. Studies*, No. 2.

Erith and Chelsea,
English towns.

Kecoughton,
now Hamp-
ton, Va.

The Falls,
now Rich-
mond, Va.

Unplant =
dispossess.

The site of
Jamestown
was ill-
chosen, being
low, swampy,
and un-
healthy; it
is now no
longer
inhabited.

In later edi-
tions of his
account,
Smith intro-
duced the
doubtful
story of
Pocahontas's
throwing her-
self between
him and the
hatchet.—
See also *Con-
temporaries*,
I, 64.

Necessity thus did inforce me with eight or nine, to try conclusions amongst the Saluages, that we got prouision which recovered the rest being most sick. Six weeks I was led captive by those Barbarians, though some of my men were slaine, and the rest fled, yet it pleased God to make their great Kings daughter the means to returne me safe to *James* towne, and releue [relieve] our wants, and then our Commonwealth was in all eight and thirty, the remainder of one hundred and fife.

Being supplied with one hundred and twenty, with twelue men in a boat of three tuns, I spent foureteene weeks in those large waters; the contents of the way of my boat protracted by the skale [scale] of proportion, was about three thousand miles, besides the Riuer we dwell vpon, where no Christian knowne euer was, and our diet for the most part what we could finde, yet but one died.

The Saluages being acquainted, that by command from *England* we durst not hurt them, were much imboldned; that famine and their insolencies did force me to breake our Commission and instructions, cause *Powhatan* fly his Countrey, and take the King of *Pumavuke* Prisoner; and also to keepe the King of *Paspahegh* in shackels, and put his men to double taskes in chaines, till nine and thirty of their Kings paied vs contribution, and the offending Saluages [were] sent to *James* towne to punish at our owne discre-
tions: in the two last yeares I staied there, I had not a man slaine.

All those conclusions being not able to preuent the bad euent of pride and idlenesse, hauing receiued another supply of seuentie, we were about two hundred in all, but not twentie work-men: In following the strict directions from *England* to doe that was impossible at that time; So it hapned, that neither wee nor they had any thing to eat, but what the Countrey afforded naturally; yet of eightie who liued vpon Oysters in Iune and July, with a pint of

corne a week for a man lying vnder trees, and 120 for the most part liuing vpon Sturgion, which was dried til we pounded it to powder for meale, yet in ten weeks but seuen died.

It is true, we had of Tooles, Armes, & Munition sufficient, some *Aquavite*, Vineger, Meale, Pease, and Otemeale, but in two yeares and a halfe not sufficient for six moneths, though by the bils of loading the proportions sent vs, would well haue contented vs, notwithstanding we sent home ample proofes of Pitch, Tar, Sope Ashes, Wainscot, Clapboord, Silke grasse, Iron Ore, some Sturgion and Glasse, Saxebras, Cedar, Cypis, and blacke Walnut, crowned *Powhaton*, sought the *Monacans* Countrey, according to the instructions sent vs, but they caused vs [to] neglect more necessary workes: they had better haue giuen for Pitch and Sope ashes one hundred pound a tun in *Denmarke*: Wee also maintained fие or six seuerall Plantations.

James towne being burnt, wee rebuilt it and three Forts more, besides the Church and Store-house, we had about fortie or fiftie seuerall houses to keepe vs warme and dry, inuironed [environed] with a palizado of foureteene or fifteene foot, and each [stake] as much as three or foure men could carrie. We digged a faire Well of fresh water in the Fort, where wee had three Bulwarks, foure and twentie peece of Ordnance, of Culuering [culverin], Demiculuering, Sacar and Falcon, and most well mounted vpon conuenient plat-formes, [and we] planted one hundred acres of Corne. We had but six ships to transport and supply vs, and but two hundred seuenty seuen men, boies [boys], and women, by whose labours *Virginia* being brought to this kinde of perfection, the most difficulties past, and the foundation thus laid by this small meanes; yet because we had done no more, they called in our Commission, tooke a new [one] in their owne names, and appointed vs neere as many offices and Officers as I had Souldiers, that neither knew vs nor

Aquavite = liquor.

Wainscot = ceiling.

Sassafras.

At the head of the James River.

The timely arrival of Newport greatly aided in this work.

These are all species of cannon.

Smith was justified in what he here says. The Company was looking out for the interests of its share-holders rather than for the good of the community.

wee them, without our consents or knowledge ; since there haue gone more then [than] one hundred ships of other proportions, and eight or ten thousand people. Now if you please to compare what hath beene spent, sent, discouered and done this fifteene yeares, by that we did in the three first yeares, and euery Gouernor that hath beene there since, giue you but such an account as this, you may easily finde what hath beene the cause of those disasters in *Virginia*. . . .

I.e. Virginia.

In the yeare 1609 about Michaelmas, I left the Countrey, as is formerly related, [it being provided] with three ships, seuen Boats, Commodities to trade, haruest newly gathered, eight weeks prouision of Corne and Meale, about ffe hundred persons, three hundred Muskets, shot, powder, and match, with armes for more men then [than] we had. The Saluages their language and habitation, well knowne to two hundred expert Souldiers ; Nets for fishing, tooles of all sorts, apparell to supply their wants : six Mares and a Horse, ffe or six hundred Swine, many more Powltry, which was brought or bred, but victuall there remained.

. . . Thus these nineteene yeares I haue here and there not spared any thing according to my abilitie, nor the best aduice I could, to perswade how those strange miracles of misery might haue beene preuented, which lamentable expeirience plainly taught me of necessity must insue, but few would beleue [believe] me till now too deereley [dearly] they haue paid for it. Wherefore hitherto I haue rather left all then [than] vndertake impossibilities, or any more such costly taskes at such chargeable rates : for in neither of those two Countries haue I one foot of Land, nor the very house I builded, nor the ground I digged with my owne hands, nor euer any content or satisfaction at all, and though I see ordinarily those two Countries shared before me by them that neither haue them nor knowes them, but by my descriptions : Yet that doth not so much trouble me, as to heare and see those contentions and diuisions which will

Chargeable
= expensive.

Virginia
and New
England.

hazard if not ruine the prosperitie of *Virginia*, if present remedy bee not found, as they haue hindred many hundreds, who would haue beene there ere now, and makes them yet that are willing [to go] to stand in a demurre.

Captain John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* (London, 1626), 162-164 *passim*.

14. The King and the Puritans (1604)

... THEN hee [Doctor Reynolds] desireth, that according to certaine Provinciall *Constitutions*, they of the Clergy might haue meetinges once euery three weekes; first in Rurall Deanries, and therein to haue Prophecyng, according as the *Reuerend Father, Archbischoppe Grindal*, and other Bishops desired of her late Maiestie. 2. that such things, as could not be resolued vpon, there, might bee referred to the *Archdeacons Visitation*: and so 3. from thence to the *Episcopall Synode*, where the Bishoppe with his *Presbyteri* [presbytery], should determine all such pointes, as before could not be decided.

At which speech, his Maiestie was somewhat stirred; yet, which is admirable in him, without passion or shewe thereof: thinking, that they ayed at a *Scottish Presbytery*, which saith hee, as well agreeth with a Monarchy, as God, and the Diuell [devil]. "Then *Jack* and *Tom*, and *Will*, and *Dick*, shall meeet, and at their pleasures censure me, and my Councell, and all our proceedings: Then *Will* shall stand vp, and say, it must bee thus; then *Dick* shall reply, and say, nay, mar[r]y, but wee will haue it thus. And therefore, here I must once reiterate my former speech, *Le Roy s'ausera*: Stay, I pray you, for one seauen [seven] yeares, before you demaunde that of mee: and if then, you

No. 14 is by DOCTOR WILLIAM BARLOW († 1613), bishop of Rochester and Lincoln successively. He was a leading Church of England partisan in the conference of prelates and Puritan divines called by King James I, at Hampton Court, January, 1604: His report, from which this extract is taken, is the chief authority on the subject.

— For Puritan doctrine, see *Contemporaries*, I, ch. xiv.

Reynoldswas one of the four Puritan leaders who took part in the conference.

"The king will think about it." ; this was the

regular form
of veto.

Prophecy-
ings were
exercises for
interpreting
and discuss-
ing passages
of Scripture.

Visitations
were annual
tours of
inspection.

The presby-
tery would be
a council of
the clergy,
but really
controlled by
the bishop:
this was the
issue which
the Puritans
had raised, in
order to get
rid of the
power of
the bishops.
King James
was quick
to see the
point.

The king,
ever since
the time of
Henry the
Eighth, had
been titular
head of the
English
Church.

The con-
cluding
words made
it evident
that no
toleration
might be
expected
from James,
but that after
this it was
only a ques-

finde mee purseye [pursy] and fat, and my winde pipes
stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you: for let that *gouern-
ment* bee once vp, I am sure, I shall bee kept in breath;
then shall wee all of vs, haue worke enough, both our hands
full. But Doctor Reyn. til you finde that I grow lazy, let
that alone."

And here, because D. Reyn. had twise before obtruded
the *Kings Supremacie*, 1. In the *Article*, concerning the
Pope; 2. in the point of *Subscription*, his Maiestie at those
times saide nothing: but now growing to an end, he saide,
"I shall speake of one matter more; yet, somewhat out of
order, but it skilleth not. Doctor Rein." quoth the K.
"you haue often spoken for my *Supremacie*, and it is well:
but knowe you any here, or any else where, who like of the
present Gouernement Ecclesiasticall, that finde fault, or dis-
like my *Supremacie*?" D. Rein. saide no . . . And then
putting his hand to his hat, his Maiestie saide; "my Lordes
the Bishops, I may thanke you, that these men doe thus
pleade for my *Supremacie*; They thinke they cannot make
their party good against you, but by appealing vnto it, as if
you, or some that adhere vnto you, were not well affected
towardes it. But if once you were out, and they in place, I
knowe what would become of my *Supremacie*. *No Bishop,*
no King, as before I sayd. Neither doe I thus speake, at
random, without ground, for I haue obserued since my com-
ming into *England*, that some Preachers before me, can
be content to pray for *James, King of England, Scotland,*
Fraunce and Ireland, defendor of the faith, but as for
Supreme Gouernour in all causes, and ouer all persons, (as
well Ecclesiasticall as Ciuil) they passe that ouer with
silence; & what cut they haue beene of, I after learned." After
this asking them, if they had any more to obiect
[object], and D. Reyn aunswering, Noe, his Maiestie ap-
pointed the next *Wednesday* for both parties to meeete
before him, and rising from his Chaire, as hee was going to

his inner Chamber, "If this bee all," quoth he, "that they haue to say, I shall make thē [them] conforme themselues, or I will harrie them out of the land, or else do worse."

William Barlow, *The Svmme and Svstance of the Conference . . . at Hampton Court. January 14. 1603* (London, 1604), 78-83 *passim*.

tion of time when the more irreconcilable Puritans would be compelled to leave England.

15. Settlement of Plymouth (1620)

. . . AFTER some houres sailling, it begane to snow, & raine, & about y^e midle of y^e afternoone [Dec. 8, 1620], y^e wind Increased, & y^e sea became very rough; and they broake their rudder, & it was as much as .2. men could doe to steere her with a cupple of oares. But their pillott bad[e] them be of good cheere for he saw y^e harbor, but y^e storme Increasing, & night drawing on, they bore what saile they could to gett in, while they could see; but herwith they broake their mast in .3. peeces & their saill fell ouer bo[a]rd, in a very grown sea, so as they had like to haue been cast away; yet by gods mercie they recouered them selues, & hauing y^e floud [flood-tide] with them struck into y^e harbore. But when it came too [to], y^e pillott was deceived in y^e place, and said y^e Lord be mercifull vnto them, for his eys neuer saw y^t [that] place before; & he, & the m^r [master] mate would haue rune her a shore, in a coue full of breakers before y^e winde but a lusty seaman which steered, bad[e] those which rowed if they were men, about with her, or ells [else] they were all cast away; the which they did with speed, so he bid them be of good cheere, & row lusty for ther was a faire sound before them, & he doubted not, but they should find one place or other, wher they might ride in saftie. And though it was *very darke*, and rained sore; yet in y^e end they gott vnder y^e lee of a smalle Iland and remained ther all y^t night

By GOVERNOR WILLIAM BRADFORD (1590-1657), member of the Scrooby congregation, silk-manufacturer during the sojourn at Leyden, and later governor of Plymouth. His "History" not only is the chief source on the early history of Plymouth, but deservedly ranks as a classic in historical literature.— For other extracts from Bradford, see *Old South Leaflets*, Nos. 48, 49; *American History Leaflets*, No. 29; *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 49, 97-100, 117.

After the Mayflower had dropped anchor in Province-town harbor, this exploring party was sent out; it coasted along the shore, and finally selected Plymouth as a site for a settlement. The island of refuge was Clark's Island.

Observe that Mary Chilton was born on the Mayflower at Province-town, before the first landing at Plymouth.

I.e. Plym-
outh.

in saftie. But they knew not this to be an Iland till morning, but were deuided [divided] in their minds, some would keepe y^e boate for fear they might be amongst y^e Indians; others were so weake and could [cold], they could not endure, but got a shore, & with much adoe got fire (all things being so wett) and y^e rest were glad to come to them, for after midnight y^e wind shifted to the north-west, & it frose hard. But though this had been a day, & night of much trouble, & danger vnto them; yet god gaue them a *morning* of comforte & refreshinge (as vsually he doth to his children) for y^e next day was a faire sunshinige day, and they found them sellues [selves] to be on an Iland secure from y^e Indeans; wher they might drie their stufe [stuff], fixe their peeces, & rest them selues, and gaue god thanks for his mercies, in their manifould deliuерances. And this being the *last day of y^e weeke*, they prepared ther to keepe y^e *Sabath*; on *munday* they sounded y^e harbor, and founde it fitt for shippinge; and marched into y^e land, & found diuerse cornfeilds, & litle runing brooks, a place [(]as they supposed) fitt for situation, at least it was y^e best they could find, and y^e season, & their presente necessitie made them glad to accepte of it. So they returned to their shipp againe with this news to y^e rest of their people, which did much comforte their h[e]arts.

On y^e .15. of *Desemr* they wayed [weighed] anchor to goe to y^e place they had discouered, & came within .2. leagues of it, but were faine to bear vp againe, but y^e .16. day y^e winde came faire, and they arriuied safe in this harbor. And after wards tooke better veiw of y^e place, and resolued wher to pitch their dwelling; and y^e .25. day begane to erecte y^e first house, for comōne vse to receiue them, and their goods. . . .

In these hard & difficulte beginnings they found some discontents & murmurings arise amongst some, and mutinous speeches & carriag[e]s in other; but they were soone

quelled, & ouercome, by y^e wisdome, patience, and Iust & equall carr[i]age of things, by y^e Gou^r [Governor] and better part w^{ch} clae [clave] faithfully togeather in y^e maine. But that which was most sadd, & lamentable, was, that in .2. or .3. moneths time halfe of their company dyed, espetialy in Ian: & February, being y^e depth of winter, and wanting houses & other comforts ; being Infected with y^e Scuruie [scurvy] & and other diseases, which this long vioage [voyage] & their Inacomodate condition had brought vpon them ; so as ther dyed some times .2. or .3. of a day, in y^e foresaid time ; that of .100. & odd persons scarce .50. remained : and of these in y^e time of most distres ther was but .6. or .7. sound persons ; who to their great comedations, be it spoken, spared no pains, night nor day, but with abundance of toyle and hazard of their owne health, fetched them wood made them fires, drest them meat, made their beads, washed ther lothsome cloaths, cloathed & vncloathed them In a word did all y^e homly, & necessarie offices for them, w^{ch} dainty & quiesie stomacks cannot endure to hear named and all this willingly & cherfully, without any grudging In y^e least, shewing herein their true loue vnto their freinds & bretheren ; A rare example & worthy to be remembred. tow [two] of these .7. were M^r William Brewster ther reuerend Elder, & Myles Standish their Captein & military commander, (vnto whom my selfe, & many others were much beholden in our low, & sicke condition) . . . And what I haue said of these, I may say of many others who dyed in this generall vissitation & others yet living ; that whilst they had health, yea or any strength continuing they were not wanting to any that had need of them ; And I doute [doubt] not but their recompence is with y^e Lord.

John Carver,
who died in
the following
April; he
was suc-
ceeded by
Bradford.

Written in
1646 by
FATHER
ISAAC
JOGUES
(1607-1646),
a French
Jesuit, and
one of that
band of
earnest mis-
sionary
explorers to
whose work
the highest
praise is due.
He was the
first Roman
Catholic
priest in what
is now the
State of
New York.—
For Jogues,
see *Contem-
poraries*, I,
No. 40.—On
Dutch New
York, see be-
low, No. 32;
*Old South
Leaflets*, No.
69; *Contem-
poraries* I,
ch. xxiii.—
On Dutch re-
lations with
New Eng-
land, see
*Contem-
poraries*, I Nos
95, 117, 170.
North River
= the Hud-
son.
Fort Amster-
dam, later
New York.
The East
River.

16. Settlement of New Amsterdam (1615-1644)

NEW HOLLAND, which the Dutch call in Latin *Novum
Belgium* — in their own language, *Nieuw Netherland*, that is to say, New Low Countries — is situated between Virginia and New England. The mouth of the river, which some people call Nassau, or the Great North River, to distinguish it from another which they call the South River, and from some maps that I have recently seen I think Maurice River, is at 40 deg. 30 min. The channel is deep, fit for the largest ships, which ascend to Manhatte's Island, which is seven leagues in circuit, and on which there is a fort to serve as the commencement of a town to be built here, and to be called New Amsterdam.

The fort, which is at the point of the island, about five or six leagues from the mouth, is called Fort Amsterdam ; it has four regular bastions mounted, with several pieces of artillery. . . . Within the fort there was a pretty large stone church, the house of the Governor, whom they call Director General, quite neatly built of brick, the storehouses and barracks.

On the Island of Manhatte, and in its environs, there may well be four or five hundred men of different sects and nations : the Director General told me that there were men of eighteen different languages ; they are scattered here and there on the river, above and below, as the beauty and convenience of the spot invited each to settle . . .

The river, which is very straight, and runs due north and south, is at least a league broad before the fort. Ships lie at anchor in a bay which forms the other side of the island, and can be defended from the fort. . . .

No religion is publicly exercised but the Calvinist, and orders are to admit none but Calvinists, but this is not

observed ; for there are in the Colony besides the Calvinists, Catholics, English Puritans, Lutherans, Anabaptists, here called Mnistes, &c., &c. When any one comes to settle in the country, they lend him horses, cows, &c. ; they give him provisions, all which he returns as soon as he is at ease ; and as to the land, after ten years he pays to the West India Company the tenth of the produce which he reaps.

This country is bounded on the New England side by a river which they call the Fresche river, which serves as a boundary between them and the English. The English, however, come very near to them, choosing to hold lands under the Hollanders, who ask nothing, rather than depend on English Lords, who exact rents, and would fain be absolute. On the other side, southward, towards Virginia, its limits are the river which they call the South river, on which there is also a Dutch settlement, but the Swedes have one at its mouth extremely well supplied with cannons and men. . . .

It is about forty years since the Hollanders came to these parts. The fort was begun in the year 1615 ; they began to settle about twenty years ago, and there is already some little commerce with Virginia and New England.

The first comers found lands fit for use, formerly cleared by the savages, who had fields here. Those who came later have cleared the woods, which are mostly oak. The soil is good. Deer hunting is abundant in the fall. There are some houses built of stone : — lime they make of oyster shells, great heaps of which are found here, made formerly by the savages, who subsist in part by that fishery.

The climate is very mild. Lying at $40^{\circ} 42' 43''$ actually there are many European fruits, as apples, pears, cherries. I reached there in October, and found even then a considerable quantity of peaches.

Ascending the river to the 43d degree, you meet the second Dutch settlement, which the tide reaches but does

I.e. Mennonites, from their chief expounder, Simonis Menno (1492-1559).

The Connecticut.

The Delaware.

Fort Christiana (Wilmington).

not pass. Ships of a hundred and a hundred and twenty tons can come up to it.

There are two things in this settlement (which is called Renselaerswick, as if to say, settlement of Renselaers, who is a rich Amsterdam merchant) — 1st, a miserable little fort called Fort Orange, built of logs, with four or five pieces of Breteuil cannon, and as many swivels. This has been reserved, and is maintained by the West India Company. This fort was formerly on an island in the river; it is now on the mainland, towards the Hiroquois [Iroquois], a little above the said island. 2d, a colony sent here by this Renselaers, who is the patron.—This colony is composed of about a hundred persons, who reside in some twenty-five or thirty houses built along the river, as each found most convenient. In the principal house lives the patron's agent; the Minister has his apart, in which service is performed. There is also a kind of Bailiff here, whom they call the Seneschal, who administers justice. Their houses are merely of boards and thatched, with no mason work except the chimneys. The forest furnishing many large pines, they make boards by means of their mills, which they have here for the purpose.

They found some pieces of ground all ready, which the savages had formerly cleared, and in which they sow wheat and oats for beer, and for their horses, of which they have great numbers. There is little land fit for tillage, being hemmed in by hills, which are poor soil. This obliges them to separate, and they already occupy two or three leagues of country.

Trade is free to all; this gives the Indians all things cheap, each of the Hollanders outbidding his neighbor, and being satisfied provided he can gain some little profit.

The Journeys Papers; translated by John Gilmary Shea, in New York Historical Society, *Collections*, Second Series (New York, 1857), III, Part I, 215-218 *passim*.

Present site
of Albany.

The govern-
ment of this
colony was
a relic of the
mediaeval
manorial
system.

17. Planting of Massachusetts (1627-1631)

TOUCHING the plantacon which wee here haue begun, it fell out thus about the yeare 1627 some freinds beeing togeather in Lincolnesheire, fell into some discourse about New England and the plantinge of the gospell there ; and after some deliberation, we imparted our reasons by l'res [letters] & messages to some in London & the west country where it was likewise deliberately thought vpon [upon], and at length with often negociation soe ripened that in the year 1628. wee procured a patent from his Ma^{tie} for our planting between the Matachusett Bay, and Charles river on the South ; and the River of Merimack on the North and 3 miles on ether side of those Rivers & Bay, as allso for the government of those who did or should inhabit within that compass and the same year we sent Mr. John Endecott & some with him to beginne a plantacon & to strengthen such as he should find there which wee sent thether from Dorchester & some places adioyning [adjoining] ; ffrom whom the same year receivinge hopefull news. The next year 1629 wee sent diverse shipps over wth about 300 people, and some Cowes, Goates & horses many of which arrived safely. Theis [these] by their too large comendacons [commendations] of the country, and the comodities thereof, invited us soe strongly to goe on that Mr. Wentrop of Soffolke (who was well knowne in his owne country & well approved heere for his pyety, liberality, wisedome & gravity) comeinge in to us, wee came to such resolution that in April 1630, wee sett saile from Old England with 4 good shipps. And in May following 8 more followed, 2 haveing gone before in Ffbruary and March, and 2 more following in June and August, besides another set out by a private merchant. Theis 17 Shippes arrived all safe in New England, for the increase of the plantacon here theis

By GOVERNOR THOMAS DUDLEY (1576-1652), soldier, steward of the Earl of Leicester, and governor of Massachusetts : a good type of the extreme Puritan. He came over in Winthrop's company. The settlement of Massachusetts is the best example in the period of intelligent colonization by a wealthy company.— See *Contemporaries*, I, ch. xvi.

Practically the present boundaries of Massachusetts.

Endicott settled at Salem.

John Winthrop.— See below, Nos. 21, 28.

yeare 1630 . . . Our 4 shippes which sett out in Aprill arrived here in June and July, where wee found the colony in a sadd and unexpected condicon aboue 80 of them beeing dead the winter before and many of those aliuе weake and sicke : all the corne & bread amongst them all hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight, insoemuch that the remainder of 180 servents wee had the 2 years before sent over, comeinge to vs for victualls to sustaine them wee found ourselves wholly unable to feed them by reason that the p'visions [provisions] shipped for them were taken out of the shipp they were put in, and they who were trusted to shipp them in another failed us, and left them behind ; whereupon necessity enforced us to our extreme loss to giue them all libertie ; who had cost us about : 16 or 20 £s [sterling] a person furnishing and sending over. But bearing theis things as wee might, wee beganne to consult of the place of our sitting downe : ffor Salem where wee landed, pleased us not.

I.e. to release them from repaying their passage money by service.

I.e. to Boston Harbor.

Medford, on the Mystic River.

Named after the reigning king.

And to that purpose some were sent to the Bay to search vpp the rivers for a convenient place ; who vpon their returne reported to haue found a good place vpon Mistick ; but some other of us secondeing theis to approoue [approve] or dislike of their judgement ; we found a place [that] liked vs better 3 leagues vp Charles river — And there vpon vnshipped our goods into other vessels and with much cost and labour brought them in July to Charles Towne ; but there receiveing advertisements by some of the late arived shippes from London and Amsterdam of some Ffrench preparations against vs (many of our people brought with vs beeing sick of feavers [fevers] & the scurvy and wee thereby vnable to car[r]y vp our ordinance and baggage soe farr) wee were forced to change counsaile and for our present shelter to plant dispersedly, some at Charles Towne which standeth on the North Side of the mouth of Charles River ; some on the South Side thereof, which place we named Boston (as wee intended to haue done the place wee

first resolved on) some of vs vpon Mistick, which wee named Meadford ; some of vs westwards on Charles river, 4 miles from Charles Towne, which place wee named Watertoune ; others of vs 2 miles from Boston in a place wee named Roxbury, others vpon the river of Sawgus betweene Salem and Charles Toune. And the westerne men 4 miles South from Boston at a place wee named Dorchester. This dispersion troubled some of vs, but helpe it wee could not, wanting abillity to remove to any place fit to build a Toune vpon, and the time too short to deliberate any longer least [lest] the winter should surprize vs before wee had builded our houses. . . . of the people who came over with vs from the time of their setting saile from England in Aprill 1630. vntill December followinge there dyed by estimacon about 200 at the least—Soe lowe hath the Lord brought vs ! Well, yet they who survived were not discouraged but bearing God's corrections with humilitie and trusting in his mercies, and considering how after a greater ebb hee had raised vpp our neighbours at Plymouth we beganne againe in December to consult about a fitt place to build a Toune [town] vpon, leaveinge all thoughts of a fort, because vpon any invasion wee were necessarily to loose our howses when we should retire thereinto ; soe after diverse meetings at Boston, Roxbury and Waterton on the 28th of December wee grew to this resolucon to bind all the Assistants (Mr. Endicott & Mr. Sharpe excepted, which last purposeth to returne by the next shippes into England) to build howses at a place, a mile east from Waterton neere Charles river, the next Springe, and to winter there the next yeare, that soe by our examples and by removeinge the ordinance and munition thether, all who were able, might be drawne thether, and such as shall come to vs hereafter to their advantage bee compelled soe to doe ; and soe if God would, a fortifyed Toune might there grow vpp, the place fitting reasonably well thereto. . . .

After a town
in England,
from which
many of
them had
come.

Roxbury.

Most of them
had come
from Dor-
chester,
England.

This place
was New-
towne, later
called
Cambridge

According to Winthrop and Bradford, the Puritans and Pilgrims came over to better their condition; they might have had toleration in Holland.

Other accounts of New England in *Old South Leaflets*, Nos. 7, 8, 21, 22, 50—54, 67, 68; *Am. Hist. Studies*, No. 2.

. . . But now haueing some leasure to discourse of the motiues for other mens comeinge to this place or their abstaining from it, after my breif manner I say this — That if any come hether [hither] to plant for worldly ends that canne live well at home hee co[m]mits an error of which hee will soon repent him. But if for spirituall [ends] and that noe particular obstacle hinder his removeall, he may finde here what may well content him: vitz: materialls to build, fewell [fuel] to burn, ground to plant, seas and rivers to ffish in, a pure ayer [air] to breath[e] in, good water to drinke till wine or beare canne be made, which togeather with the cowes, hoggs and goates brought hether allready may suffice for food, for as for foule [fowl] and venison, they are dainties here as well as in England. Ffor cloaths and beddinge they must bring them wth them till time and industry produce them here. In a word, wee yett enjoy [enjoy] little to bee envyed but endure much to be pittyed in the sicknes & mortalietye of our people. . . .

The shipp now waites but for wind, which when it blowes there are ready to goe aboard therein for England . . . Mr. Coddington and many others, the most whereof purpose to returne to vs againe, if God will. In the meane time wee are left a people poore and contemptible yet such as trust in God, and are contented with our condition, beeinge well assured that hee will not faile vs nor forsake vs.

Thomas Dudley, *Letter to the Countess of Lincoln*, March, 1631; edited by J. Farmer, in *Force, Tracts, etc.* (Washington, 1838), II, No. iv, 7-18 *passim*.

Written in
1679 by
JASPAR
DANKERS
and PETER
SLUYTER,
who came
over to find

18. Conditions of Maryland (1632)

AS regards its [Maryland's] first discoverer and possessor, that was one Lord Baltimore, an English nobleman, in the time of Queen Maria. Having come from

Newfoundland along the coast of North America, he arrived in the great bay of Virginia, up which he sailed to its uppermost parts, and found this fine country which he named Maryland after his queen. Returning to England he obtained a charter of the northerly parts of America, *inclusively*, although the Hollanders had discovered and began to settle New Netherland. With this he came back to America and took possession of his Maryland, where at present his son, as governor, resides.

Since the time of Queen Elizabeth, settlers have preferred the lowest parts of the great bay and the large rivers which empty into it, either on account of proximity to the sea, and the convenience of the streams, or because the uppermost country smacked somewhat of the one from whom it derived its name and of its government. . . .

As to the present government of Maryland, it remains firm upon the old footing, and is confined within the limits before mentioned. All of Maryland that we have seen, is high land, with few or no meadows, but possessing such a rich and fertile soil, as persons living there assured me, that they had raised tobacco off the same piece of land for thirty consecutive years. The inhabitants who are generally English, are mostly engaged in this production. It is their chief staple, and the means with which they must purchase every thing they require, which is brought to them from other English possessions in Europe, Africa and America. There is, nevertheless, sometimes a great want of these necessaries, owing to the tobacco market being low, or the shipments being prevented by some change of affairs in some quarter, particularly in Europe, or to both causes, as was the case at this time, when a great scarcity of such articles existed there, as we saw. So large a quantity of tobacco is raised in Maryland and Virginia, that it is one of the greatest sources of revenue to the crown by reason of the taxes which it yields. Servants and negroes are employed in the culture

a site for a colony of the Labadist sect. Danckers was a Dutchman, wine-racker by trade; Sluyter later became bishop and director of a Labadist settlement in New York.—For the authors, see *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 58, 146, 172.—Maryland was the first of the proprietary colonies, given to an individual as a kind of great estate.—See *Contemporaries*, I, ch. xi.

Baltimore was not the first discoverer.

Maria Anna was consort of Charles I. The "great bay" = Chesapeake.

This practice was what ultimately exhausted the soil of Maryland and Virginia. See below, No. 43, and *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 83, 88.

Indented
servants :
the name
comes from
the practice
of tearing the
contract
into two
halves, with
jagged
edges ; the
master kept
one and the
servant the
other.

For slavery,
see below.
Nos. 35, 124,
and chs. xv,
xvii.

Indian corn.
See above,
No. 12.

Later the
Church of
England was
established,
the province
divided into
parishes, and
each voter
assessed for
the support of
a minister.

An act
tolerating all
Christians
was passed

of tobacco, who are brought from other places to be sold to the highest bidders, the servants for a term of years only, but the negroes forever, and may be sold by their masters to other planters as many times as their masters choose, that is, the servants until their term is fulfilled, and the negroes for life. These men, one with another, each make, when they are able to work, from 2,500 pounds to 3,000 pounds, and even 3,500 pounds of tobacco a year, and some of the masters and their wives who pass their lives here in wretchedness, do the same. The servants and negroes after they have worn themselves down the whole day, and gone home to rest, have yet to grind and pound the grain, which is generally maize, for their masters and all their families as well as themselves, and all the negroes, to eat. Tobacco is the only production in which the planters employ themselves, as if there were nothing else in the world to plant but that, and while the land is capable of yielding all the productions that can be raised anywhere, so far as the climate of the place allows. As to articles of food, the only bread they have is that made of Turkish wheat or maize, and that is miserable. . . .

The lives of the planters in Maryland and Virginia are very godless and profane. They listen neither to God nor his commandments, and have neither church nor cloister. Sometimes there is some one who is called a minister, who does not as elsewhere, serve in one place, for in all Virginia and Maryland there is not a city or a village — but travels for profit, and for that purpose visits the plantations through the country, and there addresses the people ; but I know of no public assemblages being held in these places ; you hear often that these ministers are worse than anybody else, yea, are an abomination. . . .

It remains to be mentioned that those persons who profess the Roman Catholic religion, have great, indeed, all freedom in Maryland, because the governor makes profession

of that faith, and consequently there are priests and other ecclesiastics who travel and disperse themselves everywhere, and neglect nothing which serves for their profit and purpose. . . . The Lord grant a happy issue there and here, as well as in other parts of the world, for the help of his own elect, and the glory of his name.

in 1649. The cause of its passage is still a moot point. For the text, see *Contemporaries*, I, No. 84.

Jaspar Dankers and Peter Sluyter, *Journal of a Voyage to New York . . . in 1679-80*; translated by Henry C. Murphy, in Long Island Historical Society, *Memoirs* (Brooklyn, 1867), I, 214-221 *passim*.

19. Foundation of Government in Connecticut (1638)

TEXT: Deut. i. : 13. "Take you wise men, and understanding, and known among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you." Captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds — over fifties — over tens, &c.

Doctrine. I. That the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people, by God's own allowance.

II. The privilege of election, which belongs to the people, therefore must not be exercised according to their humours, but according to the blessed will and law of God.

III. They who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power, also, to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them.

Reasons. 1. Because the foundation of authority is laid, firstly, in the free consent of the people.

2. Because, by a free choice, the hearts of the people will be more inclined to the love of the persons [chosen] and more ready to yield [obedience].

This is an abstract of a sermon by REVEREND THOMAS HOOKER (1586-1647), made by HENRY WOLCOTT, JR., one of the original settlers of Windsor. Hooker was leader of the party which came from Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1636, to found Connecticut. The sermon probably inspired the adoption of the Fundamental Constitutions, described in *Contemporaries*, I, 415. It is an excellent example of

the Puritan sermon.—
See also
Old South Leaflets, No. 55.—For Connecticut, see *Contemporaries*, I, ch. xviii.

Hooker's doctrine probably came from John Calvin.—See *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 93, 94. § III is a statement of the power to make a constitution.

3. Because, of that duty and engagement of the people.
Uses. The lesson taught is threefold : —

1st. There is matter of thankful acknowledgment, in the [appreciation] of God's faithfulness toward us, and the permission of these measures that God doth command and vouchsafe.

2dly. Of reproof — to dash the conceits of all those that shall oppose it.

3dly. Of exhortation — to persuade us, as God hath given us liberty, to *take* it.

And lastly — as God hath spared our lives, and given us them in liberty, so to seek the guidance of God, and to choose *in* God and *for* God.

Connecticut Historical Society, *Collections* (Hartford, 1860), I, 20–21.

By
SECRETARY
NATHANIEL
MORTON
(1613–1685),
who was
brought up
in the family
of Bradford,
becoming
later secre-
tary of the
court of
Plymouth.
His *New
England's
Memorial*,
published at
the request of
the commis-
sioners of the
four united
colonies
of New
England,
is an impor-
tant author-
ity for the
early history

20. Foundation of Rhode Island (1636)

IN the year 1634. Mr. Roger Williams removed from *Plimouth* to *Salem*: he had lived about three years at *Plimouth*, where he was well accepted as an assistant in the Ministry to Mr. Ralph Smith, then Pastor of the Church there, but by degrees venting of divers of his own singular opinions, and seeking to impose them upon others, he not finding such a concurrence as he expected, he desired his dismission to the Church of *Salem*, which though some were unwilling to, yet through the prudent counsel of Mr. Brewster (the ruling Elder there) fearing that his continuance amongst them might cause divisions, and [thinking that] there being then many able men in the Bay, they would better deal with him then [than] themselves could . . . the Church of *Plimouth* consented to his dismission, and such as did adhere to him were also dismissed, and removed with him, or not long after him to *Salem*. . . . but he having in one

years time, filled that place with principles of rigid separation, and tending to Anabaptistry, the prudent Magistrates of the *Massachusetts Jurisdiction*, sent to the Church of *Salem*, desiring them to forbear calling him to office, which they not hearkening to, was a cause of much disturbance ; for Mr. *Williams* had begun, and then being in office, he proceeded more vigorously to vent many dangerous opinions, as amongst many others these were some ; *That it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor to take an Oath, and in special, not the Oath of Fidelity to the Civil Government ; nor was it lawful for a godly man to have communion either in Family Prayer, or in an Oath with such as they judged unregenerate* : and therefore he himself refused the Oath of Fidelity, and taught others so to do : also, *That it was not lawful so much as to hear the godly Ministers of England, when any occasionally went thither* ; & therefore he admonished any *Church-members* that had done so, as for hainous sin : also he spake dangerous words against the Patent, which was the foundation of the Government of the *Massachusetts Colony* : also he affirmed, *That the Magistrates had nothing to do in matters of the first Table [of the commandments], but only the second ; and that there should be a general and unlimited Toleration of all Religions, and for any man to be punished for any matters of his Conscience, was persecution*. . . . he not only persisted, but grew more violent in his way, insomuch as he staying at home in his own house, sent a Letter, which was delivered and read in the publick Church assembly, the scope of which was to give them notice, *That if the Church of Salem would not separate not only from the Churches of Old-England, but the Churches of New-England too, he would separate from them* : the more prudent and sober part of the Church being amazed at his way, could not yield unto him : whereupon he never came to the Church Assembly more, professing separation from them as

of Plymouth.
—For the settlement of Rhode Island, see *Old South Leaflets*, No. 54; *Contemporaries*, I, ch. xvii.—For Williams, see *Contemporaries*, I, No. 115.

Williams was not banished so much for his religious opinions as for the fact that he was a disturber of the peace.

Antichristian, and not only so, but he withdrew all private religious Communion from any that would hold Communion with the Church there, insomuch as he would not pray nor give thanks at meals with his own wife nor any of his family, because they went to the Church Assemblies . . . which the prudent Magistrates understanding, and seeing things grow more and more towards a general division and disturbance, after all other means used in vain, they passed a sentence of Banishment against him out of the *Massachusetts* Colony, as against a disturber of the peace, both of the Church and Common-wealth.

After which Mr. *Williams* sat down in a place called *Providence*, out of the *Massachusetts* Jurisdiction, and was followed by many of the members of the Church of *Salem*, who did zealously adhere to him, and who cried out of the Persecution that was against him: some others also resorted to him from other parts. They had not been long there together, but from rigid separation they fell to Anabaptistry, renouncing the Baptism which they had received in their Infancy, and taking up another Baptism, and so began a Church in that way; but *Mr. Williams* stopped not there long, for after some time he told the people that had followed him, and joyned with him in a new Baptism, that *he was out of the way himself, and had mis-led them, for he did not finde that there was any upon earth that could administer Baptism, and therefore their last Baptism was a nullity, as well as their first; and therefore they must lay down all, and wait for the coming of new Apostles:* and so they dissolved themselves, and turned *Seekers*, keeping that one Principle, *That every one should have liberty to Worship God according to the Light of their own Consciences;* but otherwise not owning any Churches or Ordinances of God any where upon Earth.

Nathaniel Morton, *New-Englands Memoriall* (Cambridge, 1669), 78-81 *passim.*

See note,
p. 53 above.

This principle of complete toleration was not adhered to by the colony in the later years of its history.

21. Foundation of New Hampshire (1637-1639)

[March 9, 1637.] MR. WHEELWRIGHT, one of the members of Boston, preaching at the last fast, inveighed against all that walked in a covenant of works, as he described it to be, viz., such as maintain sanctification as an evidence of justification, etc. and called them antichrists, and stirred up the people against them with much bitterness and vehemency. For this he was called into the court, and his sermon being produced, he justified it, and confessed he did mean all that walk in such a way. Whereupon the elders of the rest of the churches were called, and asked whether they, in their ministry, did walk in such a way. They all acknowledged they did. So, after much debate, the court adjudged him guilty of sedition, and also of contempt, for that the court had appointed the fast as a means of reconciliation of the differences, etc., and he purposely set himself to kindle and increase them. The governour and some few more (who dissented) tendered a protestation, which, because it wholly justified Mr. Wheelwright, and condemned the proceedings of the court, was rejected. The church of Boston also tendered a petition in his behalf, justifying Mr. Wheelwright's sermon. The court deferred sentence till the next court, and advised with the ministers, etc., whether they might enjoin his silence, etc. They answered, that they were not clear in that point, but desired rather, that he might be commended to the church of Boston to take care of him, etc., which accordingly was done, and he enjoined to appear at the next court. Much heat of contention was [in] this court between the opposite parties . . .

[Nov. 1, 1637.] There was great hope that the late general assembly would have had some good effect in pacifying

By GOVERNOR JOHN WINTHROP (1588-1649), lawyer, magistrate, landed proprietor, and first governor to exercise his functions in Massachusetts Bay. His journal is a most authentic record of the early history of the province.—For other extracts from Winthrop, see *Old South Leaflets*, Nos. 50, 66; *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 107, 118.—For New Hampshire, see *Contemporaries*, I, ch. xix.

John Wheelwright (1592-1679), pastor of the church at Mount Wollaston (now Braintree), adopted the antinomian heresy of his sister-in-law, Anne Hutchinson, and was banished.—See *Contemporaries*, I, No. 108.

The sermon was published in January, 1637.

the troubles and dissensions about matters of religion ; but it fell out otherwise. For though Mr. Wheelwright and those of his party had been clearly confuted and confounded in the assembly, yet they persisted in their opinions, and were as busy in nourishing contentions (the principal of them) as before. Whereupon the general court, being assembled in the 2 [second] of the 9th month, and finding, upon consultation, that two so opposite parties could not contain [continue] in the same body, without apparent hazard of ruin to the whole, agreed to send away some of the principal . . . Then the court sent for Mr. Wheelwright, and, he persisting to justify his sermon, and his whole practice and opinions, and refusing to leave either the place or his public exercisings, he was disfranchised and banished. Upon which he appealed to the king, but neither called witnesses, nor desired any act to be made of it. The court told him, that an appeal did not lie ; for by the king's grant we had power to hear and determine without any reservation, etc. So he relinquished his appeal, and the court gave him leave to go to his house, upon his promise, that, if he were not gone out of our jurisdiction within fourteen days, he would render himself to one of the magistrates. . . .

[Dec. 13, 1638.] Those who were gone with Mrs. Hutchinson to Aquiday fell into new errors daily. One Nicholas Easton, a tanner, taught, that gifts and graces were that antichrist mentioned [in] Thessalonians, and that which withheld, etc., was the preaching of the law ; and that every [one] of the elect had the Holy Ghost and also the devil indwelling. Another, one Herne, taught, that women had no souls, and that Adam was not created in true holiness, etc., for then he could not have lost it.

Those who went to the falls at Pascataquack, gathered a church, and wrote to our church to desire us to dismiss Mr. Wheelwright to them for an officer ; but, because he desired it not himself, the elders did not propound it. Soon after

"9th month,"
Old Style,
was November.

I.e. a formal record.

An island in
Narragansett
Bay.

Piscataqua,
now Exeter.

came his own letter, with theirs, for his dismission, which thereupon was granted. Others likewise (upon their request) were also dismissed thither. . . .

[March, 1639.] Another plantation was begun upon the north side of Merrimack, called Sarisbury, now Colchester; another at Winicowett, called Hampton, which gave occasion of some difference between us and some of Pascataquack, which grew thus: Mr. Wheelwright, being banished from us, gathered a company and sat down by the falls of Pascataquack, and called their town Exeter; and for their enlargement they dealt with an Indian there, and bought of him Winicowett, etc., and then wrote to us what they had done, and that they intended to lot out all these lands in farms, except we could show a better title. They wrote also to those whom we had sent to plant Winicowett to have them desist, etc. These letters coming to the general court, they returned answer, that they looked at this their dealing as against good neighborhood, religion, and common honesty; that, knowing we claimed Winicowett as within our patent, or as vacuum domicilium, and had taken possession thereof by building an house there above two years since, they should now go and purchase an unknown title, and then come to inquire of our right. It was in the same letter also manifestly proved, that the Indians having only a natural right to so much land as they had or could improve, so as the rest of the country lay open to any that could and would improve it, as by the said letter more at large doth appear.

"No man's
land."

Having, i.e.
had.

John Winthrop, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649*
(edited by James Savage, Boston, 1853), I, 256-349 *passim*.

CHAPTER IV—SECOND ERA OF COLONIZATION

By GOVERNOR SIR EDMUND ANDROS (1637-1714), soldier, and governor of New York, New England, and Virginia successively; arbitrary in method, but an able administrator. This account is from an official report in answer to inquiries from the English government.— For Andros in New England, see *Contemporaries*, I, No. 136.— New York is an example of the province, or unchartered colony. The first House of Representatives was held under Governor Dongan in 1683.— For New York, see *Contem-*

22. An Account of New York (1678)

A NSWERS to the Inquiries of Plantacôns for New Yorke.

1. The Governo^r is to have a Councell not exceeding tenn, wth whose advice to act for the saf[e]ty & good of the country, & in every towne, Village or parish a Petty Court, & Courts of Sessions in the severall precincts being three, on Long Island, & Townes of New Yorke, Albany & Esopus, & some smale or poore Islands & out places; And the Generall Court of Assizes composed of the Governo^r & Councell & all the Justices & Magistrates att New Yorke once a yeare, the Petty Courts Judge of fие pounds, & then may appeale to Sessions, they to twenty pounds & then may appeale to Assizes to y^e King, all s^d [said] courts as by Law.

2. The Court of Admiralty hath been by speciaill Comission or by the Court of Mayor & Aldermen att New Yorke.

3. The cheife Legislatiue power there is in the Governo^r with advice of the Councell the executive power of Judgem^{ts} giuen by y^e Courts is in the sheriffs & other civill officers.

4. The law booke in force was made by the Governo^r & Assembly att Hempsted in 1665 and since confirmed by his Royall Highnesse.

5. The Militia is about 2000 of w^{ch} about 140 horse in three troopes the foote formed into companyes most under 100 men each all indifferently armed with fire armes of all sizes, ordered & exercised according to Law, and are good fire men; one standing company of Souldiers with gunners

& other officers for the fforts of New Yorke & Albany alwayes victualled in October & November for a yeare.

6. Forteresses are James fforde seated upon a point of New Yorke towne between Hudson's River & y^e Sound, its a square with stone walls, foure bastions almost regular, and in it 46 gunns mounted & stores for seruice accordingly. Albany is a smale long stockadoed forte with foure bastions in it, 12 gunns sufficient ag^t [against] Indians, & lately a wooden redou[b]t & out worke att Pemaquid wth seven gunns, s^d Garrisons victualled for a yeare, wth suff^t [sufficient] stores.

poraries, I,
ch. xxiii;
II, ch. iv.

"Law-booke" =
so-called
"Duke's
Laws."

Fort James =
the Battery.

Pemaquid =
Maine.

7. There are noe privateers about o^r [our] Coasts.

8. Our Neighbours westward are Maryland populous & strong but doe not live in townes, their produce tobacco, Northwest the Maques [Mohawks] & Indians y^e most warr like in all the Northern Parts of America, their trade beavers & furrs. Northward the ffrench of Canada trade as wee with our Indians ; Eastward Connecticutt in a good condicône & populous, their produce provisioun of wheate, beefe & porke, some pease, o^r South bounds the Sea.

9. Wee keepe good Correspondence with all o^r neighbours as to Civill, legall or Judiciall proceedings, but differ with Connecticutt for our bounds and mutuall assistance w^{ch} they nor Massachusetts will not admitt

I.e. there
were boun-
dry con-
troveries.

10. Our boundarys are South, the Sea, west[,] Delaware ; North to y^e Lakes or ffrench ; East[,] Connecticutt River, but most usurped & yett possêd [possessed] by s^d Connecticutt, some Islands Eastward & a tract beyond Kennebeck River called Pemaquid &e New Yorke is in 40^d 35^m Albany ab^t [about] 43^d the Collony is in severall long narrow stripes of w^{ch} a greate parte of the Settlem^t [was] made by adventurers before any Regulacône[,] by [reason of] w^{ch}[,] Incroachm^{ts} [have been made] without patteints w^{ch} [*i.e.* the patents] townes haue lately taken[;] but by reason of Continuall warrs noe Survey [has been] made & [it is still] wilder-

New York,
40° 42' 43".

Albany,
42° 39' 3".

nesse,[;] noe certaine Computacôn can be made of the planted & unplanted, these last 2 yeares about 20000 acres [have been] taken up & pattented for particular persons besides Delaware, most of the land taken up except upon Long Island is improued & unlesse the bounds of the Duke's pattent be asserted noe great quantityes att hand undisposed.

*I.e. South-
ampton, L. I.*

11. Our principall places of Trade are New Yorke & Southtôn except Albany for the Indyans, our buildings most wood, some lately stone & brick, good country houses & strong of their severall kindes.

12. Wee haue about 24 townes, villiages or parishes in Six Precincts, Divisions, Rydeings [districts], or Courts of Sessions.

13. Wee haue severall Riuers, Harbours & Roades. Hudson's River the cheifest & is ab^t 4 fathoms water att comeing in[,] butt six, tenn or more within[,] & very good soundings and anchorage either in Hudson's River or in the Sound, the usuall roade before the towne & moulde [mole].

14. Our produce is land provisions of all sorts as of wheate [of which is] exported yearly about 60000 bushells, pease, beefe, porke, & some Refuse fish, Tobacco, beavers, peltry or furrs from the Indians, Deale & oake timber, plankes, pipestaues [pipe-staves], lumber horses, & pitch & tarr lately begunn to be made ; comôdityes imported are all Sorts of English mannfacture for Christians & blancketts Duffells &^c for Indians about 50,000^{li} yearly[.] Pemaquid affords merchantable ffish & masts.

'Duffells' =
coarse
woolen
cloths.

£50,000.—
See above,
p. 27, note.

15. Wee haue noe Experience or skill of Salt Peter to be had in Quantytes.

16. Our Merch^{ts} [merchants] are not many but with inhabitants & planters about 2000 able to beare armes old inhabitants of the place or of England, Except in & neere New Yorke of Dutch extraction & some few of all nations, but few serv^{ts} [who are] much wanted & but very few slaves.

17. Noe persons whateuer are to come from any place

but according to Act off Parl^t [Parliament] w^{ch} the Magistrates & Officers of y^e severall townes or places are to take care of, accordingly the Plantacōn is these late yeares increased, butt noe Generall acc^t hath been taken soe [it] is not knowne how much nor what persons. Some few slaues are sometimes brought from Barbados, most for provisions & Sould [sold] att ab^t 30^{li} or 35^{li} Country pay.

18. Ministers haue been so scarce & Religions many that noe acc^t cann be giuen of Childrens births or Christenings.

19. Scarcity of Ministers & Law admitting marriages by Justices no acc^t cann be giuen of the number marryed.

20. Noe acc^t cann be giuen of burialls formes of burialls not being generally obserued & few ministers 'till very lately.

21. A merch^t worth 1000^{li} or 500^{li} is accompted a good substantiall merchant & a planter worthe halfe that in moveables accompted with [rich?] All the Estates may bee valued att about £150000.

22. There may lately haue traded to y^e Collony in a yeare from tenn to fifteen shippes or vessells of about togeather 100 tunns each, English, new England & our owne built of wth [which] 5 smale shippes and a Ketch now belonging to New Yorke foure of them built there.

23. Obstruccōns to Improuem^t [improvement] of planters, trade, Navigacōn, & mutual assistance are y^e distinction of Collonies for our owne produce, as if [they were] different nations & people, though next neighbours on the same tract of land, & His Ma^{ties} subjects, wee obseruing [observ-
ing] acts of trade & navigacōn &c

24. Advantages, Incouragem^t & Improuem^t of Planters trade & Navigacōn would be more if next neighbours of o^r owne nation the King's subjects upon the same tract of land might without distinction, supply each other with our owne produce, punctually obserueing all acts of Parliam^t for Exportacōn & would dispose all persons the better for mutuall assistance.

£30 or £35
in produce.

A small two-
masted
vessel.

25. Rates or Dutyes upon Goods exported are 2^s for each hhd of Tobacco & 1^s 3^d on a beauer skin & other peltrey proportionably, Provisions & all else paye nothing, Goods imported payes 2 per cent except Liquors particularly rated something more, & Indian trade goeing up the river payes 3 per cent, there are some few quitt rents, as also Excise or license mon[e]ys for retaileing strong drinke & a way [weigh] house or publique scale ; all applyed to y^e Garrison & publique charge, to which it hath not heitherto sufficed by a greate deale.

26. There are Religions of all sorts, one Church of England, severall Presbyterians & Independants, Quakers & Anabaptists, of severall sects, some Jews, but presbyterians & Indipend^ts most numerous & substantiall.

27. The Duke maintaines a chapline [chaplain] w^{ch} is all the certaine allowance or [of the] Chirch of England, but peoples free gifts to y^e ministry, And all places oblidged to build churches & provide for a minister, in w^{ch} most very wanting, but presbyterians & Independents desierous to haue & maintaine them if to be had, There are ab^t 20 churches or Meeting places of w^{ch} aboue [above] halfe [are] vacant . . .

E. B. O'Callaghan, *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York* (Albany, 1853), III, 260-262.

In 1693 the
Church of
England was
established
in three
counties.

By JOHN
FENWICK
(1618-1683),
a Quaker
proprietor of
West Jersey,
named from
the island of
Jersey.
He founded
a Quaker
colony in
Salem in

23. New Jersey "a Healthy Pleasant, and Plentiful Country" (1675)

FRIENDS,

THese are to Satisfie you, or any other who are Sober, and are any wise minded to go along with me, and Plant within my COLONY; That we shall no doubt find, but that New CESEREA or New JERSEY, which is

the Place which I did Purchase : Together with the Government thereof, is a Healthy Pleasant, and Plentiful Country : According to the Report of many Honest Men, Friends, and others who has been there, and the Character given thereof, by JOHN OGILBY in his AMERICA, which I herewith send. The Method I intend for the Planting of all, or so much thereof, as I shall reserve to myself, my Heirs and Assigns for ever. Is thus :

1. **W**Hoever is minded to Purchase to them and their Heirs for ever, may for Five Pound have a Thousand Acres, and so Ten Thousand Acres ; and thereby be made Proprietors or Free-Holders.

2. Who is minded to Carry themselves, (and not Purchase) with their Families at their own Charges, are to have the Freedom of the Country when they Arrive, and one hundred Acres for every Head they carry above the Age of Fourteen, to them and their Heirs for ever. At the yearly Rent of a Pen[n]y for every Acre, to Me, my Heirs and Assigns for ever.

3. [Those] Who are minded to go as Servants, who must be Carried at my Charges, or [at the charges of] any other Proprietor, or Purchasors, or [of other persons who] Carries themselves with Servants at their own Charges as aforesaid ; they [the servants] are to Serve 4 years, and then to be made Free of the Country : Their Masters are to give them a Suit of Cloaths, and other things su[i]table ; a Cow, a Hog, and so much Wheat as the Law there in that Case allows ; with Working Tools to begin with : And then he is to have of me, or [of] his Master out of his Proprietary [property], a hundred Acres, Paying the yearly Rent of a Penny for every Acre : To me and my Heirs for ever, or to his Master and his Heirs.

And as for the Planting of the Whole, with Ease, Satisfaction and Profit, as well to the Poor as the Rich : this

1675. Governor Andros disputed his title and imprisoned him for two years ; Fenwick then made over his claim to William Penn. The following extract is from the first printed paper relative to West Jersey, after the country came into the possession of Fenwick and his partner Billyng. East and West Jersey, were united in 1702.— See *Contemporaries*, I, ch. xxv; II, ch. iv.

Ogilby's
America, a
huge folio,
published in
1671.

Freedom =
citizenship.

Method is intended, and approved of by many that are preparing to go with me, which I intend will be about the middle of the next Month call'd *April*, or the end thereof without fail, if the Lord please.

First, 10000. Acres being pitch'd Upon, and divided according to every mans Propriety; then Lots shall be cast, and when every one knows where his Lot lies, there being also a place Chosen and set out for a Town or City to be Built, in which every Purchaser must have a Part, by reason of *Delaware* River for Trade. Then every one must joyn their Hands, first in Building the Houses, and next in Improving the Land, casting Lots whose Houses shall be first built, and whose Land first Improved: And as the Land is Improved so it shall be for the Use of all the Hands and their Families which are joyned in this Community, until the whole 10000. Acres be Improved; Then every one to have his own Lot to his own Use: And so this Method to be used till the Country be Planted.

I.e. individual holding.

If any like not this Method, they may be left to Improve their Propriety alone. If any happen to go who is not Able to get a Live[li]hood here, nor to Pay their Debts out of their Stocks, the Governor and his Council shall take care, upon notice given thereof by the Creditors, that such shall make Satisfaction out of their Estates, as the Lord shall give a Blessing to their Labours, and an Increase of their Substance. Provided the Creditors hinder not their Passage, but give the Governor and his Council a Particular of their Debts.

The Government is to be, by a Governor and 12 Council to be Chosen every year, 6 of the Council to go out, and 6 to come in; whereby every Proprietor may be made capable of Government, and know the Affairs of the Country, and Privileges of the People.

I.e. a term of two years.

The Government to stand upon these two Basis, or Leges [laws], viz. 1. The Defence of the Royal Law of

God, his Name and true Worship, which is in Spirit and in Truth.

2. The Good, Peace and Welfare, of every Individual Person.

This 8th. of the 1st. Month.
1675.

I am a Real Friend
and Well-wisher
to all Men.

J. Fenwick.

March 8,
1675, O.S.

Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (Philadelphia, 1882), VI, 86-88.

24. Description of Carolina (1665-1695)

I SHALL next proceed to treat of the Government, as granted by King *Charles II.* to the Eight Lords Proprietors aforesaid, who again, by common consent, center'd that Power in Four of them, *viz.* in a Palatine of their own election, and Three more who were impower'd to execute the whole Powers of the Charter, and is call'd a Palatines Court; their Deputies in *Carolina* executing the same, as from their Principals they are directed: For each Proprietor hath his Deputy there. The Charter generally, as in other Charters, agrees in Royal Privileges and Powers; but especially at that time it had an Over-plus Power to grant Liberty of Conscience, altho' at Home was a hot Persecuting Time; as also, a Power to Create a Nobility, yet not to have the same Titles as here in *England*, and therefore they are thereby Patent, under the Great Seal of the Provinces, call'd Landgraves and Cassocks, in lieu of Earls and Lords; and are by their Titles to sit with the Lords Proprietors, Deputies, and together make the Upper-House, the Lower-House being elected by the People; and these Landgraves are to have four Baronies annex'd to their Dignities, of 6000 Acres each Barony; and the Cassocks two Baronies, of 3000 each;

By JOHN ARCHDALE, a Quaker, governor of the Carolinas from 1695 to 1697; a careful administrator, who did much for the internal improvement of the colony. The Northern and Southern colonies were at one time governed together under royal charters of 1663 and 1665; they are an example of an unsuccessful attempt to found an artificial commonwealth, with feudal privileges.—See *Contemporaries*, I, ch. xii; II, ch. v.

Liberty of
conscience
was remarka-
ble, consider-
ing that all
the proprie-
tors were
Church of
England
men.

The war
against the
Kussoes, in
1671.

and not to be separated away by Sale of any part ; only they have power to let out a third Part for three Lives, for to raise Portions for younger Children. And many Dissenters went over, Men of Estates, as also many whom the variety of Fortune had engaged to seek their Fortunes, in hopes of better Success in this New World : And truly such as better improved their new Stock of Wit, generally had no cause to repent of their Transplantation into this Fertile and Pleasant Land : Yet had they at the first many Difficulties and Dangers to cope withal, and therefore the most desperate Fortunes [fortune-hunters] first ventured over to break the Ice, which being [were] generally the Ill-livers of the pretended Church-men, altho' the Proprietors commissionated one Collonel *West* their Governour, a moderate, just, pious and valiant Person ; yet having a Council of the loose Principled Men, they grew very unruly, that they had like to have Ruin'd the Colony, by Abusing the *Indians*, whom in Prudence they ought to have obliged in the highest degree, and so brought an *Indian War* on the Country, like that in the first Planting of *Virginia*, in which several were cut off ; but the Governour by his Manly Prudence, at last, extinguish'd the same in a great measure, and so left Matters a little better settled to Governour *Jos. Morton*, in whose time General *Blake*'s Brother, with many Dissenters came to *Carolina* ; which *Blake* being a wise and prudent Person, of an heroick temper of Spirit, strengthen'd the Hands of sober inclined People, and kept under the the First Loose and Extravagant Spirit ; but not being able to extinguish it, it broke out and got head in the Government of *James Coletin* of *Barbadoes*, and Sir *Peter Colleton*'s Brother : And this Party grew so strong among the Common People, that they chose Members to oppose whatsoever the Governour requested ; insomuch that they would not Settle the Militia Act, tho' their own Security (in a Natural way) depended on it. And the grounds of their farther Strength, was by reason

of the Discontent the People lay under about the Tenure of their Lands, and payment of their Quiterance [quit-rents] which was afterwards rectified by me. After *Colleton* succeeded one —— [Thomas] *Smyth*, a wise and sober, moderate and well-living Man, who grew so uneasy in the Government, by reason that he could not satisfy the People in their Demands, that he writ over *An.* 1694, “That it was impossible to Settle the Country, except a Proprietor himself, was sent over with full power to Heal their Grievances, &c” . . . the Proprietors took Governor *Smyth's* Letter under Consideration; and the Lord *Ashly* was pitch'd upon by all the Lords, who was then in the Country . . . who desired to be excused . . . upon which Account I was then pitch'd upon, and intrusted with Large and Ample Powers; and when I arriv'd, I found all Matters in great Confusion, and every Faction apply'd themselves to me in hopes of Relief; I appeased them with kind and gentle Words, and so soon as possible call'd an Assembly . . .

I.e. perpetual rents re-served in grants of land; a system much disliked by the colonists.

“*An.*” = *Anno*, year.

John Archdale, *A New Description of that Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina* (London, 1707), 12–15 *passim*.

No. 25 is by RICHARD TOWNSEND (born about 1644), a Quaker, who came from England in the ship “Welcome” with William Penn. — For Townsend, see H. G. Ashmead, *Historical Sketch of Chester*, 230–231. — For Quakers, see below, No. 30; *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 141, 142. — The early settlers, when they had reached old

25. Settlement of Pennsylvania (1682)

AT our arrival [in Pennsylvania], we found it a wilderness; the chief inhabitants were *Indians*, and some *Swedes*; who received us in a friendly manner: and though there was a great number of us, the good hand of *Providence* was seen in a particular manner; in that provisions were found for us, by the *Swedes*, and *Indians*, at very reasonable rates, as well as brought from divers other parts, that were inhabited before.

Our first concern was to keep up and maintain our *religious worship*; and, in order thereunto, we had several *meet-*

age, are said to have frequently recalled the goodness of Providence in preserving them through the difficulties and hardships which they at first encountered. Townsend's "testimony," written about 1727, is an example of a favorite kind of Quaker reminiscence.—

Pennsylvania is a type of a colony founded on a large scale by a man of great wealth and vigorous character.— See *Contemporaries*, I, ch. xxiv; II, ch. iv.

The Swedes were the original settlers of Delaware, which for a long time formed a part of Pennsylvania.

For William Penn see *Contemporaries*, I, No. 162.

I.e. the Welsh.

ings, in the houses of the inhabitants; and one boarded meeting-house was set up, where the city was to be, near *Delaware*; and, as we had nothing but love and good-will, in our hearts, one to another, we had very comfortable meetings, from time to time; and after our meeting was over, we assisted each other, in building little houses, for our shelter.

After some time I set up a *mill*, on *Chester creek*; which I brought ready framed from *London*; which served for grinding of corn, and sawing of boards; and was of great use to us. Besides, I, with *Joshua Tittery*, made a net, and caught great quantities of fish; which supplied ourselves and many others; so that, notwithstanding it was thought near three thousand persons came in the first year, we were so providentially provided for, that we could buy a deer for about two shillings, and a large turkey, for about one shilling, and *Indian corn* for about two shillings and six pence per bushel.

And, as our worthy Proprietor treated the *Indians* with extraordinary humanity, they became very civil and loving to us, and brought in abundance of venison. As, in other countries, the *Indians* were exasperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of much bloodshed, so the contrary treatment here hath produced their love and affection.

About a year after our arrival, there came in about twenty families from high and low *Germany*, of religious, good people; who settled about six miles from *Philadelphia*, and called the place *Germantown*.—The country continually increasing, people began to spread themselves further back.—

Also a place called *North Wales*, was settled by many of the *ancient Britons*, an honest inclined people, although they had not then made a profession of the truth, as held by us, yet, in a little time, a large convincement was among them; and divers meeting-houses were built.

About the time, in which *Germantown* was laid out, I settled upon my tract of land, which I had purchased of the Proprietor, in *England*, about a mile from thence ; where I set up a house and a corn mill ; — which was very useful to the country, for several miles round : — But there not being plenty of horses, people generally brought their corn on their backs many miles . . .

As people began to spread, and improve their lands, the country became more fruitful ; so that those, who came after us, were plentifully supplied ; and with what we abounded we began a small trade abroad. And as *Philadelphia* increased, vessels were built, and many employed. Both country and trade have been wonderfully increasing to this day ; so that, from a *wilderness*, the Lord, by his good hand of providence, hath made it a fruitful field : — On which to look back, and observe all the steps, would exceed my present purpose ; yet, being now in the eighty-fourth year of my age, and having been in this country near forty-six years, and my memory pretty clear, concerning the rise and progress of the province, I can do no less than return praises to the *Almighty*, when I look back and consider his bountiful hand . . .

Robert Proud, *The History of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1797), I, 229–231 *passim*.

On Philadelphia, see
Contemporaries, I, Nos.
161, 163; II,
No. 28.

No. 26 is by
REVEREND
WILLIAM
EDMUNDSON
(1627–1716),
English yeo-
man, soldier
in the parlia-
mentary
army, and
afterward
Quaker
preacher.
He made
two journeys
to America,
the first in
company
with George
Fox. Inter-
spersed in
the faithful
journal
which he
kept of his

26. A Journey through Delaware (1676)

WE travelled that Day, and saw no tame Creature, at Night we kindled a Fire in the Wilderness, and lay by it, as we used to do in such Journies ; next Day about nine in the Morning, by the good Hand of God, we came well to the *Falls*, and by his Providence found there an Indian Man, a Woman and Boy with a Canoe : So we hired

travels and work are to be found many valuable observations upon the colonies.—Delaware was a very small and weak colony, but it had the same governor as Pennsylvania, and at times the same legislature.—See

Contemporaries, I, ch. xxiv; II, No. 27.

The falls of the Delaware are near Trenton.

Wampum = strings of small white shells used as ornaments and as money.

There were many Finns among the Swedish settlements.

He passes the site of the later Philadelphia without notice.

Uplands, now Chester.

For John Fenwick, see above, No. 23.

The deputy-governor was

him for some *Wampum*, to help us over in the Canoe; We swam our Horses, and though the River was broad, yet got well over; and, by the Directions we received from Friends, travelled towards *Delaware* Town along the West Side of the River: When we had rode some Miles, we baited our Horses, and refreshed ourselves with such Provisions as we had, for as yet we were not come to any Inhabitants. Here came up to us a *Finland* Man well horsed, who could speak *English*, he soon perceived what we were, and gave us an Account of several Friends, his House was as far as we could ride that Day; he took us there, and lodged us kindly.

Next Morning, being first Day of the Week, we went to *Uplands*, where were a few Friends met at *Robert Wade's* House, and we were glad one of another, and comforted in the Lord. After Meeting we took Boat and went to *Salem* about thirty Miles, there lived *John Fenwick*, and several Families of Friends from *England*, we ordered our Horses to meet us at *Delaware* Town by Land; so we got Friends together at *Salem*, and had a Meeting: After which we had the Hearing of several Differences, and endeavoured to make Peace among them.

Next Day we went by Boat, accompanied by several Friends, to *Delaware* Town, and there met with our Horses according to Appointment, but for a long Time could get no Lodging for ourselves, or them; the Inhabitants being most of them *Dutch* and *Finns*, and addicted to Drunkenness. That Place was then under the Government of *New-York*, and is now called *Pennsylvania*, there was a Deputy-Governor in it; so when we could not get a Lodging, I went to the Governor, and told him, *We were Travellers, and had Money to pay for what we called for, but could not get Lodging for our Money*. He was very courteous, and went with us to an Ordinary, and commanded the Man to provide us Lodging (which was both mean and dear) but the Governor

sent his Man to tell me, *That what I wanted, send to him for and I should have it.*

The next Morning we took our Journey towards *Maryland*, accompanied with *Robert Wade* and another Friend : We travelled hard and late at Night, so came to *William Southerby's* at *Saxifrax River*. From thence we went among Friends on the Eastern Shore in *Maryland* . . .

William Edmundson, *Journal* (London, 1774), 107-109.

Captain John Collier.

Ordinary = inn.

Sassafras River, Maryland.

27. Progress of Georgia (1733)

WE set sail from *Gravesend*, on the 17th of Novr. 1732, in the ship *Anne*, of 200 tons, *John Thomas*, Master, being about 130 persons, and arrived off the bar of *Charlestown* on the 13th day of January following. Mr. Oglethorpe went on shore to wait on the Governour ; was received with great marks of civility and satisfaction ; obtained an order for Mr. Middleton, the King's pilot, to carry the ship into *Port Royal* ; and for small craft to carry the Colony from thence to the river *Savannah*, with a promise of further assistance from the Province. He returned on board the 14th day ; and came to an anchor within the bar of *Port Royal*, at about 16 miles' distance from *Beaufort*. On the 18th, he went on shore upon *Trench's* island, and left a guard of 8 men upon *John's* ; being a point of that island which commands the channel, and is about half-way between *Beaufort* and the river *Savannah* : — they had orders to prepare Huts, for the reception of the Colony, against they should lie there in their passage. From thence, he went to *Beaufort town*, where he arrived about one o'clock in the morning ; and was saluted with a discharge of all the Artillery, and had the new Barracks fitted up ; where, the Colony landed on the 20th day ; and were, in

This account was written either by or with the sanction of GENERAL JAMES EDWARD OGLE-THORPE (1696-1785), founder of Georgia.— See *Contemporaries*, II, No. 39.— Georgia was founded as a philanthropic enterprise, to give homes to poor people; slavery was for nearly twenty years forbidden. Till after the Revolution Georgia had very few inhabitants.— See *Contemporaries*, II, ch. vi.

every respect, cheerfully assisted by Lieut. Watts, Ensign Farrington, and the other officers of his Majesty's independent company, as also by Mr. Delabarr, and other gentlemen of the neighborhood.

While the Colony refreshed themselves there, Mr. *Oglethorpe* went up the River, and chose a situation for a Town ; and entered into a treaty with Tomochichi, the Micco, or Chief of the only nation of Indians living near it. He returned on the 24th day ; and they celebrated the Sunday following, as a day of Thanksgiving for their safe arrival ; and a sermon was preached by the Revd. Mr. Jones, (the Revd. Dr. Herbert, who came with the Colony, preaching that day at Beaufort town.) There was a great resort of the Gentlemen of that neighborhood, and their families ; and a plentiful Dinner provided for the Colony, and all that came, by Mr. Oglethorpe ; being 4 fat hogs, 8 turkies, besides fowls, *English Beef*, and other provisions, a hogs-head of punch, a hogshead of beer, and a large quantity of wine ; and, all was disposed in so regular a manner, that no person was drunk, nor any disorder happened.

On the 30th, the Colony embarked on board a sloop of 70 tons, and 5 Periaugers [dugouts], and made sail ; but were forced by a storm, to put in at a place called the *Look-out*, and to lie there all night : — the next day, they arrived at John's ; where they found huts capable to contain them all, and a plentiful supper of venison. They re-embarked the next day ; and in the afternoon arrived at the place intended for the Town.

Being arrived, on the 1st of February, at the intended Town, before night they erected 4 large tents, sufficient to hold all the people, being one for each tything ; they landed their bedding, and other little necessaries ; and all the people lay on shore. The ground they encamped upon is the edge of the river where the *key* [wharf] is intended to be.

On the convivial habits of the time, see *Contemporaries*, II, No. 84.

I.e. John's Island.

Tithing = a company of ten householders.

Until the 7th was spent in making a Crane, and unlading the goods :— which done, Mr. Oglethorpe divided the people ; employing part, in clearing the land for seed ; part, in beginning the palisade ; and the remainder, in felling of trees where the Town is to stand.

Savannah.

Col. Bull arrived here, with a message from the General Assembly to Mr. Oglethorpe, and a letter from his Excellency Governor Johnson and the Council ; acquainting him, that the two Houses, upon a conference, had agreed to give 20 barrels of Rice and 100 head of Cattle, besides Hogs, to the Trustees ; and, that they had commanded a detachment of the *Rangers* (which are Horse, kept in the pay of the Province, for the scouring of the frontiers) and the *Scout-boat* (which is an armed Bark, employed for the same purpose by water) to attend him, and take his orders.

Col. Bull brought with him 4 of his Negroes, who were Sawyers, to assist the Colony ; and also, brought provision for them, being resolved to put the Trust to no expense ; and by this means, to bestow his benefaction in the most noble and useful manner.

On the 9th day, Mr. Oglethorpe and Col. Bull marked out the Square, the Streets, and 40 Lots for houses for the town ; and the first House (which was ordered to be made of clapboards) was begun that day.

The Town lies on the south side of the river Savannah, upon a Flat on the top of a hill ; and 60 yards of it is reserved between it and the Key. The river washes the foot of the hill ; which stretches along the side of it about a mile, and forms a terrace 40 feet perpendicular above high-water.

A Brief Account of the Establishment of the Colony of Georgia, under Gen. James Oglethorpe, February 1, 1733, in Force, Tracts, etc. (Washington, 1836), I, No. ii, 8-10.

By
GOVERNOR
JOHN WINTHROP, for
whom see
above, No.
21. His
journal
throws light
upon almost
every phase
of New Eng-
land life in
the first half
of the seven-
teenth cen-
tury.—See
Contempora-
ries, I, No.
107.—On
early colo-
nial life, see
Contempora-
ries, I, chs.
xiii, xxi, xxvi.

Morton's set-
tlement at
Merrymount
had been
broken up
by John
Endicott in
the summer
of 1628.—See
Contempora-
ries, I, No.
103.

Oct. 25.—
A very early
example of
temperance
sentiment.

"This ship,"
i.e. the
"Lion."

CHAPTER V—COLONIAL LIFE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

28. New England Life (1630–1635)

THURSDAY, 17 [June, 1630.] We went to Mattachusetts, to find out a place for our sitting down. We went up Mistick River about six miles. . . .

Thursday, 8 [July.] We kept a day of thanksgiving in all the plantations. . . .

[Sept. 30.] The wolves killed six calves at Salem, and they killed one wolf.

Thomas Morton [was] adjudged to be imprisoned, till he were sent into England, and his house burnt down, for his many injuries offered to the Indians, and other misdemeanours. Capt. Brook, master of the [ship] Gift, refused to carry him. . . .

[Oct. 25.] The governour, upon consideration of the inconveniences which had grown in England by drinking one to another, restrained it at his own table, and wished others to do the like, so as it grew, by little and little, to disuse. . . .

[Feb. 10, 1631.] The poorer sort of people (who lay long in tents, etc.) were much afflicted with the scurvy, and many died, especially at Boston and Charlestown; but when this ship came and brought store of juice of lemons, many recovered speedily. It hath been always observed here, that such as fell into discontent, and lingered [longed] after their former conditions in England, fell into the scurvy and died. . . .

[Nov. 4.] The governour, his wife and children, went

on shore, with Mr. Peirce, in his ship's boat. The ship gave them six or seven pieces. At their landing, the captains, with their companies in arms, entertained them with a guard, and divers volleys of shot, and three drakes; and divers of the assistants and most of the people, of the near plantations, came to welcome them, and brought and sent, for divers days, great store of provisions, as fat hogs, kids, venison, poultry, geese, partridges, etc., so as the like joy and manifestation of love had never been seen in New England. It was a great marvel, that so much people and such store of provisions could be gathered together at so few hours' warning. . . .

I.e. fired a salute.

Small pieces of artillery.

[April 16, 1632.] A wear [dam] was erected by Watertown men upon Charles River, three miles above the town, where they took great store of shads.

A Dutch ship brought from Virginia two thousand bushels of corn, which was sold at four shillings sixpence the bushel. . . .

[July 5.] At Watertown there was (in the view of divers witnesses) a great combat between a mouse and a snake; and, after a long fight, the mouse prevailed and killed the snake. The pastor of Boston, Mr. Wilson, a very sincere, holy man, hearing of it, gave this interpretation: That the snake was the devil; the mouse was a poor contemptible people, which God had brought hither, which should overcome Satan here, and dispossess him of his kingdom. Upon the same occasion, he told the governour, that, before he was resolved to come into this country, he dreamed he was here, and that he saw a church arise out of the earth, which grew up and became a marvellous goodly church. . . .

This is a curious example of the tendency of the Puritans to see spiritual warnings in the commonest happenings.

December 5 [1633.] John Sagamore died of the small pox, and almost all his people; (above thirty buried by Mr. Maverick of Winesemett in one day). The towns in the bay took away many of the children; but most of them died soon after. . . .

Samuel Maverick was the original settler of what is now East Boston and Chelsea.

A common
colonial
punishment.

[March 4, 1634.] At this court all swamps, above one hundred acres, were made common, etc. Also Robert Cole, having been oft punished for drunkenness, was now ordered to wear a red D about his neck for a year. . . .

[Oct. 14.] It was informed the governour, that some of our people, being aboard the bark of Maryland, the sailors did revile them, calling them holy brethren, the members, etc., and withal did curse and swear most horribly, and use threatening speeches against us. The governour wrote to some of the assistants about it, and, upon advice with the ministers, it was agreed to call them in question ; and to this end (because we knew not how to get them out of their bark) we apprehended the merchant of the ship, being on shore, and committed him to the marshal, till Mr. Maverick came and undertook that the offenders should be forthcoming. The next day (the governour not being well) we examined the witnesses, and found them fall short of the matter of threatening, and not to agree about the reviling speeches, and, beside, not able to design certainly the men that had so offended. Whereupon (the bark staying only upon [for] this) the bail was discharged, and a letter written to the master, that, in regard such disorders were committed aboard his ship, it was his duty to inquire out the offenders and punish them ; and withal to desire him to bring no more such disordered persons among us. . . .

In the early days of the colony, coin was very little used as a medium of exchange.

[March 4, 1635.] At this court brass farthings were forbidden, and musket bullets made to pass for farthings. . . .

[April.] Some of our people went to Cape Cod, and made some oil of a whale, which was cast on shore. There were three or four cast up, as it seems there is almost every year.

John Winthrop, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649* (edited by James Savage, Boston, 1853), I. 32-188 *passim*.

29. Church Services (1642)

A CHURCH is gathered there after this maner: A convenient, or competent number of Christians, allowed by the generall Court to plant together, at a day prefixed, come together, in publique manner, in some fit place, and there confesse their sins and professe their faith, one unto another, and being satisfied of one anothers faith & repentance, they solemnly [solemnly] enter into a Covenant with God, and one an other (which is called their Church Covenant, and held by them to constitute a Church) to this effect: *viz.*

To forsake the Devill, and all his workes, and the vanities of the sinfull world, and all their former lusts, and corruptions, they have lived and walked in, and to cleave unto, and obey the Lord Jesus Christ, as their onely King and Law-giver, their onely Priest and Prophet, and to walke together with that Church, in the unity of the faith, and brotherly love, and to submit themselves one unto an other, in all the ordinances of Christ, to mutuall edification, and comfort, to watch over, and support one another.

Whereby they are called the Church of such a place, which before they say were no Church, nor of any Church except the invisible: After this, they doe at the same time, or some other, all being together, elect their own Officers, as Pastor, Teacher, Elders, Deacons, if they have fit men enough to supply those places; else, as many of them as they can be provided of. . . .

When a man or woman commeth to joyne unto the Church so gathered, he or shee commeth to the Elders in private, at one of their houses, or some other place appointed, upon the weeke dayes, and make knowne their desire, to enter into Church-fellowship with that Church, and then the ruling Elders, or one of them, require, or aske

By THOMAS LECHFORD (1590-1644?), who was in Massachusetts from 1638 till 1641, when he returned to England in disgust. He was the first to practise law in the province. His comments, though hostile, are valuable.—For Lechford, see *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 91, 110.—For church services, see *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 143, 169; II, ch. xv. An excellent secondary study of Puritan religious feeling is Barrett Wendell's *Cotton Mather*.

This was the fundamental principle of the Puritan church polity.

The Puritans were much averse to having women take part in public religious worship; not so the

Quakers and
Methodists.

him or her, if he bee willing to make known unto them the worke of grace upon their soules, or how God hath beene dealing with them about their conversion : which (at *Boston*) the man declareth usually standing, the woman sitting. And if they satisfie the Elders, and the private assembly, (for divers of the Church, both men and women, meet there usually) that they are true beleevers, that they have beene wounded in their hearts for their originall sinne, and actuall transgressions, and can pitch upon some promise of free grace in the Scripture, for the ground of their faith, and that they finde their hearts drawne to beleeve in Christ Jesus, for their justification and salvation, and these in the ministerie of the Word, [in] reading or [in] conference : and that they know competently the summe of Christian faith . . . Then afterwards . . . they shall be called forth before the whole Church. . . .

Which done, the Elder turneth his speech to the party to be admitted, and requireth him, or sometimes asketh him, if he be willing to make knowne to the congregation the work of grace upon his soule ; and biddeth him, as briefly, and audibly, to as good hearing as he can, to doe the same.

Thereupon the party, if it be a man, speaketh himselfe ; but if it be a woman, her confession made before the Elders, in private, is most usually (in *Boston* Church) read by the Pastor, who registered the same. . . .

The party having finished his Discourses of his confession, and profession of his faith, the Elder againe speaketh to the congregation : Brethren of the congregation, if what you have heard of, from this party, doe not satisfie you, as to move you to give him the *right hand of fellowship*, use your liberty, and declare your mindes therein . . .

This done, sometimes they proceede to admit more members, all after the same manner, for the most part, two, three, foure, or five, or more together, as they have time, spending sometimes almost a whole afternoone therein. And then

I.e. have
been aroused
by preaching,
private read-
ing, or con-
versation.

the Elder calleth all them, that are to be admitted, by name, and rehearseth the covenant, on their parts, to them, which they publiquely say, they doe promise, by the helpe of God, to performe: And then the Elder, in the name of the Church, promiseth the Churches part of the covenant, to the new admitted members. So they are received, or admitted.

Then they may receive the Sacrament of the Lords supper with them, and their children bee baptized, but not before: also till then they may not be free men of the Commonwealth, but being received in the Church they may. . . .

THE publique worship is in as faire a *meeting house* as they can provide, wherein, in most places, they have beene at great charges. Every Sabbath or Lords day, they come together at *Boston*, by wringing of a bell, about nine of the clock or before. The Pastor begins with solemn prayer continuing[-ing] about a quarter of an hour. The Teacher then readeth and expoundeth a Chapter; Then a Psalme is sung, which ever one of the ruling Elders dictates. After that the Pastor preacheth a Sermon, and sometimes *ex tempore* exhorts. Then the Teacher concludes with prayer, and a blessing.

Commonly
built at the
expense of
the town.

Once a moneth is a Sacrament of the Lords Supper, whereof notice is given usually a fortnight before, and then all others departing save the Church, which is a great deale lesse in number then [than] those that goe away, they receive the Sacrament, the Ministers and ruling Elders sitting at the Table, the rest in their seats, or upon forms: All cannot see the Minister consecrating, unlesse they stand up, and make a narrow shift. . . . Then a Psalme is sung, and with a short blessing the congregation is dismissed. . . .

Thomas Lechford, *Plain Dealing: or, Nevves from New-England* (London, 1642), 2-17 *passim*.

By WILLIAM ROBINSON and MAR-MADUKE STEVENSON (†1659). Robinson was a merchant of London, Stevenson a farmer from Yorkshire. Both emigrated to Rhode Island and came thence to Massachusetts Bay, where, upon refusal to submit to a sentence of banishment on pain of death, they were thrown into prison and hanged, October 27, 1659. The following letter, written in prison just before their execution, is typical of those produced by New England Quakers in that period.—See *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 140-142.

The Quakers believe that Christ continues to reveal Himself to individuals and to express Himself through them.

30. A Quaker Warning (1659)

HEARKEN and give Ear, thou Town of *Boston*, lend an Ear, O ye Rulers, Chief-Priests, and Inhabitants thereof! Listen all you that dwell therein, Rich and Poor, Small and Great, High and Low, Bond and Free, of what Sort soever, give Ear; be attentive to the Words of my Mouth, which proceed from the Spirit of the Lord, and from the Power of the Almighty within me.

I have often considered your Conditions, and your Actings have often come into my Remembrance, which hath caused me often to lament, because of the Hardness of your Hearts, who do thus slight the Almighty, and requite the Most High: Oh foolish and unwise! Ye who do not regard the Lord that made you, who hath often sent to you his Servants to give you Warning of the mighty Day of the Lord of Hosts, of the terrible Day of the Lord God Almighty, which draweth near, it hastens apace . . . O ye Rulers and Chief-Priests, are ye combining together? Are ye joined together? Are ye in League together as the Rulers and Chief-Priests were in former Ages? Consider their Ends, and consider what you are doing: Are you so blind that you cannot see you are persecuting the Saints of the Most High? You who are seeking the Life of the Righteous, and that nothing but Blood will satisfy, *The Lord will give you Blood to drink*, you that thirst for it, you shall have enough of it; you who spill and drink the Blood of the Saints and Martyrs of Jesus, are not your Brethren gone before you, in whose Steps you are treading? And the Fruits of the Devil you are bringing forth . . . And do you thus requite the Lord for his Loving-kindness, to whip, to imprison, and cut off the Ears of his Servants, that are sent unto you? Is this your preaching forth of Christ? Are these your good Examples to others? Come, let us reason together: Have you not lost natural

Affection? Have you not lost Tenderness and Compassion? Woe is me for thee! Oh! thou *New-England*, who hast made such a Noise among the Nations: Is thy Religion come to no more than whipping, imprisoning, burning in the Hand, and cutting off Ears, and banishing upon Death? What will be the next Law that thou wilt make, O *New-England*, against those whom thou scornfully callest *Quakers*? Terming them, *The cursed Sect of the Quakers*. If they were a *cursed Sect*, as thou hast termed them, it seems they should be so for thee, and so die for thee: For thou hast made a Law *to put them to Death, if they come a second Time within thy Borders*. But I say, the Lord hath blessed the People called *Quakers*, and they are blessed, and shall be blessed for evermore. . . .

Oh ye Hypocrites! How can you sing, and keep such a Noise concerning Religion, when *your Hands are full of Blood, and your Hearts full of Iniquity?* Wash you, make you clean, put away the Evil of your Doings: Cease to do Evil: Learn to do Good: Cleanse your Hands, you Sinners, and your Hearts, you Hypocrites; for your Prayers are Abomination to me, saith the Lord of Hosts: Your Singing is as the Howling of a Dog in the Streets, such are the Songs you sing in your Temple unto me, saith the Lord; my Spirit is weary with hearing, and my Soul is vexed Day after Day with your Abominations. Wo! Wo! to thee, thou BLOODY TOWN OF BOSTON, and the rest that are CONFEDERATE WITH THEE, and it thou canst not escape. Thou who hast shed the Blood of the innocent People called *Quakers*, and imprisoned and fined them, and taken away their Goods, and they have become a Prey unto thee, for thee to exercise thy Cruelty upon them, and thou boastest in thy Wickedness, and thinkest, thou dost God good Service to hang and put to Death the People called *Quakers*

. . . . But take heed, we warn you in the Name of the Lord God, consider what you are going to do. In the Name of

A splendid
plea for
religious
toleration.

the Lord God we demand that we may have Liberty for the Exercise of our pure Consciences, within your Jurisdiction, as well as other *English-men*, seeing that you cannot lay to our Charge the Transgression of any Law of God, we being Men that fear the Lord God of Heaven and Earth ; and we come not for any Thing of yours, God is our Witness ; it is not for any Thing that you have that we come for, for we do not lack any outward Thing ; for many of us have both Houses and Land of our own, and Silver also in *Old-England*, so that we seek not any Thing that you have . . .

In the Common Goal in the Bloody Town of Boston.

*From us who are in Scorn
called Quakers, who are
Sufferers under Zion's
Oppressors, the Sixth
Month 1659.*

August,
1659. O.S.

WILLIAM ROBINSON,
MARMADUKE STEVENSON.

Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers* (London, 1753), II, 238-247 *passim*.

By REV-
EREND
COTTON
MATHER
(1663-1728),
a prominent
Boston min-
ister, perhaps
the most
learned colo-
nist of his
time, and the
author of 382
volumes. In
spite of his
learning, he
was vain and
ill-balanced
and shared
in the super-
stitions of his
day. He was

31. A Witch Trial (1692)

I. **S**USANNA MARTIN, pleading *Not Guilty* to the Indictment of *Witchcraft*, brought in against her, there were produced the Evidences of many Persons very sensibly and grievously Bewitched ; who all complained of the Prisoner at the Bar, as the Person whom they believed the cause of their Miseries. And now, as well as in the other Trials, there was an extraordinary Endeavour by *Witchcrafts*, with Cruel and frequent Fits, to hinder the poor Sufferers from giving in their Complaints, which the Court was forced with much Patience to obtain, by much waiting and watching for it.

II. There was now also an account given of what passed at her first Examination before the Magistrates. The Cast of her *Eye*, then striking the afflicted People to the Ground, whether they saw that Cast or no ; there were these among other Passages between the Magistrates and the Examinant.

Magistrate. Pray, what ails these People?

Martin. I don't know.

Magistrate. But what do you think ails them ?

Martin. I don't desire to spend my Judgment upon it.

Magistrate. Don't you think they are bewitch'd?

Martin. No, I do not think they are.

Magistrate. Tell us your Thoughts about them then.

Martin. No, my thoughts are my own, when they are in, but when they are out they are another's. Their Master.—

Magistrate. Their Master? who do you think is their Master?

Martin. If they be dealing in the Black Art, you may know as well as I.

Magistrate. Well, what have you done towards this?

Martin. Nothing at all.

Magistrate. Why, 'tis you or your Appearance.

Martin. I cannot help it.

Magist. Is it not *your* Master? How comes your Appearance to hurt these?

Martin. How do I know? He that appeared in the Shape of *Samuel*, a glorified Saint, may appear in any ones Shape.

It was then also noted in her, as in others like her, that if the Afflicted went to approach her, they were flung down to the Ground. And, when she was asked the Reason of it, she said, *I cannot tell; it may be, the Devil bears me more Malice than another.* . . .

VIII. *William Brown* testifi'd, That Heaven having blessed him with a most Pious and Prudent Wife, this Wife of his, one day met with *Susanna Martin*; but when she

one of the
most active
leaders in the
witchcraft
persecutions.

— For Ma-
ther, see *Old
South Leaf-
lets*, No. 67;
*Contem-
poraries*, I,
No. 148;

II, No. 92.—
The witch-
craft delusion
swept over
all the civil-
ized world,

and caused
unmeasured
cruelty and
woe; it ap-
peared in
some of the
other colo-
nies, and in
New Eng-
land ran a
brief course,
and was far
less barba-
rous than in
England at
the same
period. Su-
sanna Martin
was finally
executed.

— For witch-
craft, see
*Contem-
poraries*, II,
Nos. 16-18.

The convul-
sions of
people who
were frantic
with fear are
here ac-
cepted as
legal evi-
dence.

Examinant =
the person
examined.

It seems incredible that such gossip should be admitted as testimony.

approach'd just unto her, *Martin* vanished out of sight, and left her extreamly affrighted. After which time, the said *Martin*, often appear'd unto her, giving her no little trouble ; and when she did come, she was visited with Birds, that sorely peck'd and prick'd her ; and sometimes, a Bunch, like a Pullet's Egg, would rise in her Throat, ready to choak her, till she cry'd out, *Witch, you shan't choak me !* While this good Woman was in this extremity, the Church appointed a Day of Prayer, on her behalf ; whereupon her Trouble ceas'd ; she saw not *Martin* as formerly ; and the Church, instead of their Fast, gave Thanks for her Deliverance. But a considerable while after, she being Summoned to give in some Evidence at the Court, against this *Martin*, quickly thereupon, this *Martin* came behind her, while she was milking her Cow, and said unto her, *For thy defaming her [me] at Court, I'll make thee the miserablest Creature in the World.* Soon after which, she fell into a strange kind of distemper, and became horribly frantick, and uncapable of any reasonable Action ; the Physicians declaring, that her Distemper was preternatural, and that some Devil had certainly bewitched her ; and in that condition she now remained. . . .

XII. But besides all of these Evidences, there was a most wonderful Account of one *Joseph Ring*, produced on this occasion.

This Man has been strangely carried about by *Demons*, from one *Witch-meeting* to another, for near two years together ; and for one quarter of this time, they have made him, and keep him Dumb, tho' he is now again able to speak. . . .

. . . When he was brought unto these hellish Meetings, one of the first Things they still did unto him, was to give him a knock on the Back, whereupon he was ever as if bound with Chains, uncapable of stirring out of the place, till they should release him. He related, that there often

came to him a Man, who presented him a *Book*, whereto he would have him set his Hand; promising to him, that he should then have even what he would; and presenting him with all the delectable Things, Persons and Places, that he could imagin[e]. But he refusing to subscribe, the business would end with dreadful Shapes, Noises and Screeches, which almost scared him out of his Wits. Once with the Book, there was a Pen offered him, and an Ink-horn with Liquor in it, that seemed like Blood: But he never toucht it.

This Man did now affirm, That he saw the Prisoner at several of those hellish Randezvouzes.

Cotton Mather, *The Wonders of the Invisible World: being an Account of the Tryals of Several Witches, lately Executed in New-England* (first London edition, 1693), 70-76 *passim*.

32. Life in New York (1647-1658)

WHEREAS we have experienced the insolence of some of our inhabitants, when drunk, their quarrelling, fighting and hitting each other even on the Lords day of rest, of which we have ourselves witnessed the painful example last Sunday in contravention of law, to the contempt and disgrace of our person and office, to the annoyance of our neighbors and to the disregard, nay contempt of Gods holy laws and ordinances, which command us, to keep holy in His honor His day of rest, the Sabbath, and forbid all bodily injury and murder, as well as the means and inducements, leading thereto,—

Therefore, by the advice of the late Director General and of our Council and to the end, that instead of Gods curse falling upon us we may receive his blessing, we charge,

One of the most frequent of the fancied ceremonies.

From the ORDINANCES OF NEW AMSTERDAM. These enactments, extending over the fourteen years 1647-1661, present a most graphic picture of important aspects of early New York life.—See above, No. 16; *Old South Leaflets*, No. 69; *Contemporaries*, I, chs. xxii, xxiii.

enjoin and order herewith principally all brewers, tapsters and innkeepers, that none of them shall upon the Lords day of rest, by us called Sunday, entertain people, tap or draw any wine, beer or strong waters of any kind and under any pretext before 2 of the clock, in case there is no preaching or else before 4, except only to a traveller and those who are daily customers, fetching the drinks to their own homes, — this under the penalty of being deprived of their occupation . . .

The governing body of the colony till the English occupation in 1664.

Fort Amsterdam was situated at the foot of Bowling Green.

About a pound sterling — a heavy fine.

WHEREAS the Hon^{ble} [Honorable] Director General and Council of New Netherland daily see, that the goats and hogs here are doing great damage in orchards, gardens and other places around Fort Amsterdam, which not only prevents the cultivation of fine orchards and the improvement of lots, but is also an injury to many private parties, —

Therefore wishing to remedy it, the Director General and Council order, that henceforth no hogs or goats shall be pastured or kept between Fort New Amsterdam and its vicinity and the Fresh Water, unless within the fences of the owners, so made, that the goats cannot jump over and damage any one. . . .

We have learned by experience, that on New Years Day and Mayday the firing of guns, the planting of Maypoles and the intemperate drinking cause, besides the useless waste of powder, much drunkenness and other insolent practices with sad accidents of bodily injury[;] and to prevent this in the future the Director General and Council strictly forbid within the Province of New Netherland, the firing of guns on New Years and Mayday, the planting of Maypoles, the noisy beating of drums and the treating with wine, brandy or beer[;] and they do so, to prevent further mishaps, under a fine of 12 fl. [florins] for the first time, double the amount for the second time and arbitrary correction for the third offense, to be divided $\frac{1}{3}$ to the officer, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the poor and $\frac{1}{3}$ for the informer. . . .

The Director General and Council hereby not only warn their good subjects, but also order, that they shall move closer together in villages, neighborhoods and hamlet[s] during the coming spring, that they may be better protected against attacks and surprises by the savages through their own efforts and through the faithful soldiery of the Director General and Council. All those, who contrary to this order shall remain living on their isolated plantations, do so at their own peril without assistance in the time of need from the Director General and Council; they shall also yearly pay a fine of 25 fl. for the public benefit. It is also ordered, in order to prevent sudden conflagrations, that henceforth no house shall be roofed with straw or reeds and no chimney be made of shingles or wood. . . .

The Director General and Council have credibly been informed, that not only conventicles and meetings are held here and there in this Province, but that also unqualified persons presume in such meetings to act as teachers in interpreting and expounding God's holy Word without ecclesiastical or temporal authority. This is contrary to the general political and ecclesiastical rules of our Fatherland and besides such gatherings lead to troubles, heresies and schisms. Therefore to prevent this the Director General and Council strictly forbid all such public or private conventicles and meetings, except the usual and authorized ones, where Gods reformed and ordained Word is preached and taught in a meeting for the reformed divine service conform[able] to the Synod of Dort and followed here as well as in the Fatherland and other reformed churches of Europe, under a fine of 100 pounds Flemish to be paid by all, who in such public or private meetings, except the usual authorized gatherings . . . presume to exercise without due qualification the duties of a preacher, reader or precentor and each man or woman, married or unmarried, who are found at such a meeting, shall pay a fine of 25 pounds. . . .

This edict
had little or
no effect.

Like the
"prophecy-
ings" de-
scribed
above,
No. 14.

A synod con-
vened at Dort
in the Nether-
lands, in
1618-19, to
settle points
of faith in the
Reformed
Church of the
Netherlands.

One pound
Flemish =
6 fl. or \$2.40

It has been found, that within this City of Amsterdam in N. N. [New Netherland] many burghers and inhabitants throw their rubbish, filth, ashes, dead animals and such like things into the public streets to the great inconvenience of the community and dangers arising from it. Therefore the Burgomasters and Schepens ordain and direct, that henceforth no one shall be allowed to throw into the streets or into the graft [canal] any rubbish, filth, ashes, oyster-shells, dead animal or anything like it, but they shall bring all such things to the to them most convenient of the following places,

Mayor and
assistants, or
councilmen.

These places
were all near
the water
front. The
City Hall
stood in what
is now Pearl
Street;
Litsco, or
Litschoe,
kept the old
tavern at the
east end of
Wall Street.

to wit the Strand, near the City hall, near the gallows, near Hendrick the baker, near Daniel Litsco, where tokens to that effect shall be displayed, but not on the public streets under a penalty of 3 fl. for the first offence, 6 fl. for the second and arbitrary punishment for the third. . . .

Berthold Fernow, editor and translator, *The Records of New Amsterdam* (New York, 1897), I, 1-31 *passim*.

By ROBERT
HOLDEN.
This is an
official report
to the com-
missioners of
customs from
one of the
royal col-
lectors in the
colonies.
The trade of
the colonies
was by law
confined
pretty closely
to direct com-
merce with
England, in
English or
colonial ves-
sels, but there
was much

33. The Trade of the Colonies (1679)

. . . HAVING met with divers informations tend-
ing to my place there [Albemarle County,
Carolina] & the frauds used by the traders here [Boston]
about Tobacco transported thence to this place and else
where, It is my duty (& ♀ [by] the greatest injunctive tie
devised) to give information of all affaires thereunto relating
as also ♀ [by] severall articles in my Instructions [I am]
required in such negociations to serve the King faithfully in
y^e misdemeanours of his subjects about the defrauding of
customes &c. The subwritten accompt of such affaires in
[is] here inserted.

About $\frac{1}{2}$ dozen traders of this place with their [ac]com-
plices receive the greatest part of the production of tobacco

in the County of Albemarle in the Province of Carolina annually & ~~tho~~ [by means of] a person whom through their interest wth the people [they] have factiously made [—] one M^r Culpeper (a Gentleman I Know not) [—] the Collector of his Ma^ty's Customes, by which meanes they & he have played such notorious pranks with the specious pretences of doing justice and preserving the King's rights that a people and Customes . . . were never more infatuated, cheated and exhausted . . . in these parts of New England . . .

And as the Tobacco trade [current *i.e.* now going on] causeth their concourse thither[;] & their wayes to leniate [lessen] ye impost (which the other subjects of the King pay) resteth [stoppeth] not there, for from thence [such ways are] brought hither, they have liberty without farther examination here to carry the same to Ireland, Holland, France, Spain or any other place[,] under the notion [name] of fish and such like goods[,] by which the trade is so diverted from the true rules of Commerce that trafique in this Western world must be monopolized in this Commodity only to New England[,] & the rest of His Majesty's people so trading must become Bostoniz'd or relinquish dealing if speciall care is not had thereto & a settlement of Customes [made] here with the King's Officers.

That the Canary trade in like nature is carried on : Ships from hence go thither & load wines, touch at Maderas or some other of the Western Islands & there take about a tun of their wines which they put in the hatchway coming home ; From whence your ship? From Maderas, with their lading Wines, & so draw off the upper Caskes for a taste & so the whole ship under this notion is unladed without further enquiry. I was told this by one who sa[i]led in a ship that practised it.

That the Scotish Trade by the like Legerde main jugles [tricks] is driven. A ship at Newcastle Berwick Poole &c.

open smuggling.—See *Contemporaries*, I, ch. vii, and Nos. 83, 88, 150, 151; II, ch. xiii.

During the early period there was a very active trade between Massachusetts and the Carolinas. Sons of the planters were educated in the Northern provinces, and there was much intermarrying.

Trade to the Canary Islands (Spanish).

It was a refusal of the revenue officers to sanction such a proceeding which led to the seizure of John Hancock's sloop "Liberty," in June, 1768.

At this time
Scotland was
still a sepa-
rate kingdom
from Eng-
land.

toucheth taketh in coals or some slight goods, goes for Scotland and there receives great quantities of Linen & other Scotish goods what they think best to bring & coming here by her English clearings at the Ports &c. abovesaid passeth for current without farther inquisition.

The French, Spanish & what Country else European trade in like nature passeth home under the pretence of French or Spanish salt &c. by which from France they import all that Country wares[,] as Linen, Wines, Rubans [ribbons], Silks &c. from Spaine wines, fruits, oyle [oil ;] Portugall the like goods &c. from hence transport as afores^d [aforesaid] under the notion of fish to all these places what will turn to account.

Here is just now a ship returned from Madagascar[;] by the way put severall Negroes on shore at Jamaica, she touched I hear at severall parts of East India & besides hath brought Elephant teeth where she got them knows not [is not known], she hath been a year & $\frac{1}{2}$ out. . . .

For my part I have thought this my duty both to my King & yourselves[,] in that place [which] (under your favor) I enjoy, to advise that these irregular courses may be prevented & care taken as your wisdomes herein may appoint, without which not only many of His Ma^{tys} Liege People will be oppressed ; But my Masters the Lords Proprietors of the County of Albemarle in the County of Carolina will through their interest of trade there be kept in faction & Rebellion as now it is and for severall yeare hath been & they [are] the cause wholy that their Lordships government cannot take place.

I shall omitt no time nor paines in the execution of my office according to my capacity & wholy follow your Instructions and Orders & indeavour to regulate [matters] within my power & by all opportunities give advice of all occurrences.

William L. Saunders, editor, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1886), I, 244-246 *passim*.

A very early
example of
direct trade
with the
Indian
Ocean.

See above,
No. 24.

34. Plantation Life in Virginia (1648)

THE Governor *Sir William*, caused half a bushel of Rice (which he had procured) to be sown [sown], and it prospered gallantly, and he had fifteen bushhels of it, excellent good Rice, so that all these fifteen bushels will be sown again this yeer ; and we doubt not in a short time to have Rice so plentiful as to afford it at 2^d a pound if not cheaper, for we perceive the ground and Climate is very proper for it as our *Negroes* affirme, which in their Country is most of their food, and very healthful for our bodies.

We have many thousand of Acres of cleer Land, I mean where the wood is all off it (for you must know all *Virginia* is full of trees) and we have now going neer upon a hundred and fifty Plowes, with many brave yoak of Oxen, and we sowe excellent Wheat, Barley, Rye, Beans, Pease, Oates ; and our increase is wonderful, and better Grain not in the world.

One Captain *Brocas*, a Gentleman of the Counsel, a great Traveller, caused a Vineyard to be planted, and hath most excellent VVine made, and the Country, he saith, [is] as proper for Vines as any in Christendome, Vines indeed naturally growing over all the Country in abundance : only skilful men [are] wanting here. . . .

Worthy Captaine *Matthews*, an old Planter of above thirty yeers standing, one of the Counsell, and a most deserving Common-wealths-man, I may not omit to let you know this Gentlemans industry.

He hath a fine house, and all things answerable to it ; he sowes yearly store of Hempe and Flax, and causes it to be spun ; he keeps Weavers, and hath a Tan-house, causes Leather to be dressed, hath eight Shoemakers employed in their trade, hath forty *Negroe* servants, brings them up to Trades in his house : He yearly sowes abundance of Wheat,

ANONYMOUS. From a letter written in 1648, and appended to a description of Virginia sent to England "at the request of a gentleman of worthy note, who desired to know the true state of Virginia as it now stands."

—For the life of a Southern planter, see *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 61, 87, 88; II, Nos. 82, 83, 108.

"Sir William" = Sir William Berkeley.

The Carolinas later came to supersede Virginia as a rice-producing district.

The woods were cut by the settlers.

A striking example of the Southern planter, who produced the necessaries for his own plantation.

Barley, &c, The VVheat he selleth at four shillings the bushell; kills store of Beeves, and sells them to victuall the ships when they come thither: hath abundance of Kine, a brave Dairy, Swine great store, and Poltery [poultry]; he married the Daughter of Sir *Tho. Hinton*, and in a word, keeps a good house, lives bravely, and [is] a true lover of *Virginia*; he is worthy of much hononr[-our].

Our Spring begins the tenth of *February*, the trees bud, the grasse springs, and our Autume and fall of Leafe is in *November*, our VVinter short, and most yeers very gentle, Snow lies but little, yet Yce [ice] some yeers.

I may not forget to tell you we have a Free-Schoole, with two hundred Acres of Land, a fine house upon it, forty milch Kine, and other accommodations to it: the Benefactor deserves perpetuall memory; his name *Mr. Benjamin Symes*, worthy to be Chronicled; other petty Schools also we have.

VVe have most rare coloured Parraketoes [parroquets], and one Bird we call the *Mock-bird*; for he will imitate all other Birds notes, and cries [like] both day and night-birds, yea, the Owles and Nightingalls.

A Perfect Description of Virginia: being a full and true Relation of the present State of the Plantation . . . (London, 1649), 14-16 *passim*.

35. Slavery in Virginia (1667-1680)

An act declaring that baptisme of slaves doth not exempt them from bondage.

By the VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY.
In the other Southern colonies there was very little legislation on the subject of slavery until the next century. The

WHEREAS some doubts have risen whether children that are slaves by birth, and by the charity and piety of their owners made pertakers of the blessed sacrament of baptisme, should by vertue of their baptisme be made ffree;

It is enacted and declared by this grand assembly, and the authority thereof, that the conferring of baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or ffreedom; that diverse masters, ffreed from this doubt, may more carefully endeavour the propagation of christianity by permitting children, though slaves, or those of greater growth if capable to be admitted to that sacrament. . . .

About Runawayes.

WHEREAS it hath been questioned whether servants running away may be punished with corporall punishment by their master or magistrate since the act already made gives the master satisfaction by prolonging their time by [of] service, *It is declared and enacted by this assembly that moderate corporall punishment inflicted by master or magistrate upon a runaway servant, shall not deprive the master of the satisfaction allowed by the law, the one being as necessary to reclayme them from persisting in that idle course, as the other is just to repaire the damages susteyned by the master. . . .*

Negro women not exempted from tax.

WHEREAS some doubts, have arisen whether negro women set free were still to be accompted tithable according to a former act, *It is declared by this grand assembly that negro women, though permitted to enjoy their ffreedom yet ought not in all respects to be admitted to a full fruition of the exemptions and impunitiess [immunities] of the English, and are still lyable to payment of taxes. . . .*

An act about the casuall killing of slaves.

WHEREAS the only law in force for the punishment of refractory servants resisting their master, mistris or overseer cannot be inflicted upon negroes, nor the obstinacy of many

extracts here given are fairly typical for all the Southern colonies during the colonial period; except that in South Carolina, where the blacks outnumbered the whites and insurrections were proportionally more to be feared, the slave code was in some respects more stringent. These statutes are also typical of the usual form of colonial laws. — For colonial slavery, see *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 86, 87; II, ch. xvi; for the later phases of slavery, *Contemporaries*, III.

The act about runawayes applies to white indentured servants; the runaway might be both flogged and detained.—See *Contemporaries*, II, No. 105.

The act concerning negro women is an early statement of the inferior legal position of free negroes.

Experience belied this belief that angry masters would not destroy their own property.

In the nineteenth century there were cases of negro slave-holders.

of them by other then [than] violent meanes supprest, *Be it enacted and declared by this grand assembly*, if any slave resist his master (or other by his masters order correcting him) and by the extremity of the correction should chance to die, that his death shall not be accompted ffelony, but the master (or that other person appointed by the master to punish him) be acquit from molestation, since it cannot be presumed that prepensed malice (which alone makes murther ffelony) should induce any man to destroy his owne estate. . . .

Noe Negroes nor Indians to buy christian servants.

WHEREAS it hath beene questioned whither [whether] Indians or negroes manumited, or otherwise free, could be capable of purchasing christian servants, *It is enacted* that noe negroe or Indian though baptised and enjoyned their owne ffreedom shall be capable of any such purchase of christians, but yet not debarred from buying any of their owne nation. . . .

An act ascertaining the time when Negroe Children shall be tythable.

Tythable = taxable. The hardship here suggested is that planters should have to pay taxes.

WHEREAS it is deemed too hard and severe that children (as well christians as slaves) imported into this colony should be lyable to taxes before they are capable of working, *Bee it enacted by the kings most excellent majestie . . .* that all negroe children imported or to be imported into this colony shall within three months after the publication of this law or after their arrivall be brought to the county court, where there age shalbe adjudged of by the justices holding court, and put upon record, which said negroe, or other slave soe brought to court, adjudged and recorded shall not be accompted tythable untill he attaines the age of twelve yeares, any former law, ususage, or custome to the contrary notwithstanding. . . .

An act for preventing Negroes Insurrections.

WHEREAS the frequent meeting of considerable numbers of negroe slaves under pretence of feasts and burials is judged of dangerous consequence ; for prevention whereof for the future, *Bee it enacted by the kings most excellent majestie by and with the consent of the generall assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid,* that from and after the publication of this law, it shall not be lawfull for any negroe or other slave to carry or arme himselfe with any club, staffe, gunn, sword or any other weapon of defence or offence, nor to goe or depart from of[f] his masters ground without a certificate from his master, mistris or overseer, and such permission not to be granted but upon perticular and necessary occasions ; and every negroe or slave soe offendig not haveing a certificate as aforesaid shalbe sent to the next constable, who is hereby enjoyned and required to give the said negroe twenty lashes on his bare back well layd on, and soe sent home to his said master, mistris or overseer. *And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid* that if any negroe or other slave shall presume to lift up his hand in opposition against any christian, [he] shall for every such offence, upon due proofe made thereof by the oath of the party before a magistrate, have and receive thirty lashes on his bare back well laid on. *And it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid* that if any negroe or other slave shall absent himself from his masters service and lye hid and lurking in obscure places, comitting injuries to the inhabitants, and shall resist any person or persons that shalby any lawfull authority be employed to apprehend and take the said negroe, that then in case of such resistance, it shalbe lawfull for such person or persons to kill the said negroe or slave soe lying out and resisting . . .

This statute marks one of the great dangers of slavery; there were many insurrections in colonial times, especially the so-called "New York slave plot" of 1741.

CHAPTER VI—RIVALS FOR EMPIRE

By HENRY
SIEUR DE
TONTY,
(1650-1704),
an Italian,
who accom-
panied La
Salle on
many of his
journeys.
His *Mémoir*,
published in
1693, is re-
garded by
Parkman as
excellent
authority,
though a spu-
rious edition
was pub-
lished in his
name in 1697.
—For Mis-
sissippi dis-
coveries and
explorations,
see *Contem-
poraries*, I,
ch. v.; II,
ch. xvii.

Grenade =
a bomb
thrown by the
hand.

Michili-
makinac =
Machinaw,
or Machinac,
near the
strait con-
necting Lakes
Michigan
and Huron.

Miamis
River, near

36. La Salle on the Mississippi (1681-1682)

AFTER having been eight years in the French service, by land and by sea, and having had a hand shot off in Sicily by a grenade, I resolved to return to France to solicit employment. At that time [1678] the late M. CAVELIER DE LA SALLE came to Court, a man of great intelligence and merit, who sought to obtain leave to discover the Gulf of Mexico by crossing the southern countries of North America. . . . the late Monseigneur the Prince Conty . . . directed me to him to be allowed to accompany him in his long journeys, which he very willingly assented to. . . .

. . . We arrived at Michilimakinac about the *fête Dieu* in October [1681]. . . . At the Miami River I assembled some Frenchmen and savages for the voyage of discovery, and M. de la Salle joined us in October. We went in canoes to the River Chicagou, where there is a portage which joins that of the Illinois. The rivers being frozen, we made sledges and dragged our baggage thirty leagues below the village of Illinois, where, finding the navigation open, we arrived at the end of January at the great River Mississippi. The distance from Chicagou was estimated at 140 leagues. We descended the river, and found, six leagues below, on the right, a great river, which comes from the west, on which there are numerous nations. We slept at its mouth. The next day we went on to the village of Tamarous, six leagues off on the left. There was no one there, all the people being at their winter quarters in the

woods. We made marks to inform the savages that we had passed, and continued our route as far as the River Ouabache, which is eighty leagues from that of Illinois. It comes from the east, and is more than 500 leagues in length. It is by this river that the Iroquois advance to make war against the nations of the south. . . .

. . . The savages having been informed that we were coming down the river, came in their canoes to look for us. We made them land, and sent two Frenchmen as hostages to their village ; the chief visited us with the calumet, and we went to the savages. They regaled us with the best they had, and after having danced the calumet to M. de la Salle, they conducted us to their village . . . M. de la Salle erected the arms of the King there ; they have cabins made with the bark of cedar ; they have no other worship than the adoration of all sorts of animals. Their country is very beautiful, having abundance of peach, plum and apple trees, and vines flourish there ; buffaloes, deer, stags, bears, turkeys, are very numerous. They have even domestic fowls. They have very little snow during the winter, and the ice is not thicker than a dollar. They gave us guides to conduct us to their allies, the Taencas, six leagues distant.

The first day we began to see and to kill alligators, which are numerous and from 15 to 20 feet long. . . .

. . . We departed thence on Good Friday, and after a voyage of 20 leagues, encamped at the mouth of a large river, which runs from the west. We continued our journey, and crossed a great canal, which went towards the sea on the right. Thirty leagues further on we saw some fishermen on the bank of the river, and sent to reconnoitre them. It was the village of the Quinipissas, who let fly their arrows upon our men, who retired in consequence. As M. de la Salle would not fight against any nation, he made us embark. . . . We proceeded on our course, and after sailing 40 leagues, arrived at the sea on the 7th of April, 1682.

Toledo,
Ohio.

Chicago =
Chicago.

This portage
forms the
route of the
Hennepin
Canal.

"Great river"
from the west
= the
Missouri.

Tamarous,
one of the
tribes form-
ing the conf-
ederation of
the Illinois.

Ouabache =
the Ohio.

Calumet =
peace-pipe.

On the west
bank, near
St. Joseph.

March, 1682.

Red River.

A bayou.

In what is
now St.
Charles
County, on
the left bank,
not far above
New Orleans.

Minnesota.

M. de la Salle sent canoes to inspect the channels ; some of them went to the channel on the right hand, some to the left, and M. de la Salle chose the centre. In the evening each made his report, that is to say, that the channels were very fine, wide, and deep. We encamped on the right bank, we erected the arms of the King, and returned several times to inspect the channels. The same report was made. This river is 800 leagues long, without rapids, 400 from the country of the Sciox, and 400 from the mouth of the Illinois river to the sea. The banks are almost uninhabitable, on account of the spring floods. The woods are all those of a boggy district, the country one of canes and briars and of trees torn up by the roots ; but a league or two from the river, the most beautiful country in the world, prairies, woods of mulberry trees, vines, and fruits that we were not acquainted with. . . .

[Henry] Sieur de Tonty, *Memoir*, in B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana* (New York, 1846), Part I, 52-63 *passim*.

ANONYMOUS. From a contemporary manuscript account found among the papers of Fitz-John Winthrop, governor of Connecticut from 1698 to 1707. It is evidently an official report written on the spot, and is an excellent

37. Destruction of Deerfield (1704)

UPON y^e day of y^e date above s^d [said] about 2 hours before day y^e French & Indian Enemy made an attaque upon Derefield, entering y^e Fort with Little discovery (though it is s^d y^e watch shot off a gun & cryed Arm, w^{ch} verry few heard) imediately set upon breaking open doors & windows, took y^e watch & others Captive & had y^{ir} [their] men appointed to Lead y^m [them] away, others improved [the time] in Rifleing houses of provissons, money, cloathing, drink, & packing up & sending [them] away ; the greatest part standing to their Arms, fireing houses, & killing all they could y^t [that] made any resistance ; alsoe killing

cattle, hogs, sheep & sakeing [sacking] & wasting all that came before y^m, Except some persons that Escaped in y^e Crowds, some by Leaping out at windows & over y^e fortifications. Some ran to Capt. Well[s] his Garrison, & some to Hatfield with Litle or no cloathing on, & barefooted, w^{ch} with y^e bitterness of y^e season caused y^m to come of[f] wth frozen feete, & Lye Lame [because] of y^m. One house, viz, Benoni Stebbins, they attaquaed Later than some others, y^t [so that] those in it were well awakened, being 7 men, besides woemen and children, who stood stoutly to y^{ir} [their] Armes, firing upon y^e Enemy & y^e Enemy upon y^m, causing sev^{ll} [several] of the Enemy to fall, of w^{ch} was one frenchman, a Gentile man to appearance. Y^e Enemy gave back, they strove to fire y^e house, our men killed 3 or 4 Indians in their attempt, y^e Enemy being numerous about y^e house, powdered [poured] much shot upon the house ; y^e walls being filled up with brick, y^e force of y^e shot was repelled, yet they killed sayd [said] Stebbins, & wounded one man & one woeman, of w^{ch} y^e surviv^es [survivors] made no discovery to y^e Assailants, but with more than ordinary Couridge [courage] kept fireing, haveing powder & Ball sufficient in s^d house ; y^e Enemy betook y^mselves to the next house & y^e Meeting house, both of w^{ch} [were] but about 8 rod distant, or [our] men yet plyed their business & accepting of no q^r [quarter], though offered by y^e Enemy, nor [willing to] Capitulate,[;] but by [their] guns, giveing little or no Respite from y^e tyme they began ([they] say some of y^e men in y^e house shot 40 tymes, & had fair shots at y^e Enemy all the while) about an hour before day till y^e Sun [was] about one hour & half high, at w^{ch} tyme they were almost spent ; yet at the verry pintch [pinch], ready to yield[,] or men from Hadley & Hatfield about 30 men, rushed in upon y^e Enemy & made a shot upon them, at w^{ch} they Quitted their Assaileing y^e house & y^e Fort alsoe ; the house at Libertie, woemen & children ran to Capⁿ Wells his fort,

example of the homely style of the Puritan yeoman. At that time there was no settled usage as to spelling. The Deerfield massacre, Feb. 29, 1704, was the most noted of several similar forays, for another of which see *Contemporaries*, II, No. 117.—For inter-colonial wars, see *Contemporaries*, II, ch. xix.

War had broken out between France and England in 1702.

Quarter =
surrender on
promise of
safety.

Hatfield was
12 miles
away.

Conduct =
leadership.

the men wth ours still p'rsued the Enemy, all of them vigorously, causing many of y^e Enemy to fall, yet being but about 40 men p'rsued to[o] farr, imprudently, not altogether for want of conduct, for Capt. Wells, who had led them, called for a retreat, which they Little mynded, y^e Enemy discoviring their numbe^s [numbers] haveing ambush^ms of men, caused o^r men to give back, though to[o] Late, being a Mile from y^e Fort ; in y^{ir} [their] drawing of[f] & at y^e Fort [we] Lost 11 of o^r men, viz, Sergt Benj Waite, Sergt Sam^{ll} Boltwood, & his son Rob^t Boltwood, Sam^{ll} Foot, Sam^{ll} Alliss, Nath^l Warner, Jonth Ingram, Thomas Selding, David Hoite, Jos Ingersoll, & Jos Catlin, & after o^r men recovered the Fort againe, the Enemy drew of[f], haveing at s^d house & in y^e ingaggm^s (as is Judge[d] by y^e best calculation we can come at) Lost about 50 men, & 12 or 15 wounded (as o'ur captive says) w^{ch} they carried of[f], & is thought they will not see Canada againe (& s^d Captive escaped says) they, viz, the Enemy, went 6 mile that night . . .

George Sheldon, *Pocumtuck—A History of Deerfield, Massachusetts* (Deerfield, 1895), I, 302–303.

By PROFESSOR PETER KALM (1715–1779), a Swedish botanist, who travelled in Pennsylvania, New York, and Canada from 1748 to 1751. The piece is a good example of the shrewd and careful observations of an educated

38. The French Trade with the Indians (1749)

SEPTEMBER the 22d [1749]. THE French in Canada carry on a great trade with the Indians . . . The Indians in this neighbourhood, who go hunting in winter like the other Indian nations, commonly bring their furs and skins to sale in the neighbouring French towns; however this is not sufficient. The Indians who live at a greater distance, never come to Canada at all; and, lest they should bring their goods to the English, as

the *English* go to them, the *French* are obliged to undertake journeys, and purchase the *Indian* goods in the country of the *Indians*. This trade is chiefly carried on at *Montreal*, and a great number of young and old men every year, undertake long and troublesome voyages for that purpose, carrying with them such goods as they know the *Indians* like, and are in want of. . . .

I WILL now enumerate the chief goods which the *French* carry with them for this trade, and which have a good run among the *Indians*.

Muskets, Powder, Shot, and Balls. The *Europeans* have taught the *Indians* in their neighbourhood the use of firearms, and they have laid aside their bows and arrows, which were formerly their only arms, and make use of muskets. If the *Europeans* should now refuse to supply the *Indians* with muskets, they would be starved to death; as almost all their food consists of the flesh of the animals, which they hunt; or they would be irritated to such a degree as to attack the *Europeans*. . . .

Pieces of white cloth, or of a coarse uncut cloth. The *Indians* constantly wear such pieces of cloth, wrapping them round their bodies. Sometimes they hang them over their shoulders; in warm weather, they fasten them round the middle; and in cold weather, they put them over the head. Both their men and women wear these pieces of cloth, which have commonly several blue or red stripes on the edge.

Blue or red cloth. Of this the *Indian* women make their petticoats, which reach only to their knees. They generally chuse the blue colour.

Shirts and shifts of linen. As soon as an *Indian* fellow, or one of their women, have put on a shirt, they never wash it, or strip it off, till it is entirely torn in pieces.

Pieces of cloth, which they wrap round their legs instead of stockings, like the *Russians*.

traveller.—
For Kalm,
see below,
Nos. 45, 50;
Contemporaries, II, Nos.
112, 114, 122.

—The fur
trade was the
cause of the
settlement of
Canada.—
For Indian
trade, see
Contemporaries, I, Nos.
60, 91, 152;
II, Nos. 111,
113.

Hatchets, knives, scissars, needles, and a steel to strike fire with. These instruments are now common among the Indians. They all take these instruments from the Europeans, and reckon the hatchets and knives much better, than those which they formerly made of stones and bones. The stone hatchets of the ancient Indians are very rare in Canada.

Kettles of copper or brass, sometimes tinned in the inside. In these the Indians now boil all their meat, and they have a very great run with them. . . .

Ear-rings of different sizes, commonly of brass, and sometimes of tin. They are worn by both men and women, though the use of them is not general.

Vermillion. With this they paint their face, shirt, and several parts of the body. They formerly made use of a reddish earth, which is to be found in the country; but, as the Europeans brought them vermillion, they thought nothing was comparable to it in colour. Many persons have told me, that they had heard their fathers mention, that the first Frenchmen who came over here, got a great heap of furs from the Indians, for three times as much cinnabar as would ly [lie] on the tip of a knife.

Red sulphide
of mercury,
or vermillion.

Verdigrease, to paint their faces green. For the black colour, they make use of the soot at the bottom of their kettles, and daub their whole face with it.

Looking glasses. The Indians are very much pleased with them, and make use of them chiefly when they want to paint themselves. The men constantly carry their looking glasses with them on all their journies; but the women do not. The men, upon the whole, are more fond of dressing than the women.

Burning glasses. These are excellent pieces of furniture in the opinion of the Indians; because they serve to light the pipe without any trouble, which an indolent Indian is very fond of.

Tobacco is bought by the northern *Indians*, in whose country it will not grow. The southern *Indians* always plant as much of it as they want for their own consumption. Tobacco has a great run amongst the northern *Indians*, and it has been observed, that the further they live to the northward, the more they smoke of tobacco.

Wampum, or, as they are here called, *porcelanes*. They are made of a particular kind of shells, and turned into little short cylindrical beads, and serve the *Indians* for money and ornament.

Wampum was also a currency.

Glass beads, of a small size, and white or other colours. The *Indian* women know how to fasten them in their ribbands, pouches, and clothes.

Brass and steel wire, for several kinds of work.

Brandy, which the *Indians* value above all other goods that can be brought them—or have they any thing, though ever so dear to them, which they would not give away for this liquor. But, on account of the many irregularities which are caused by the use of brandy, the sale of it has been prohibited under severe penalties; however, they do not always pay an implicit obedience to this order.

THESE are the chief goods which the *French* carry to the *Indians*, and they have a good run among them.

Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America* (translated by John Reinhold Forster, London, 1771), III, 268–274 *passim*.

39. Braddock's Defeat (1755)

Fort Cumberland, 18 July, 1755.

HONORED MADAM,

As I doubt not but you have heard of our defeat, and, perhaps, had it represented in a worse light, if possible, than it deserves, I have taken this earliest opportunity to

By COLONEL
GEORGE
WASHINGTON (1732–
1799), in a
letter to his
mother, Mrs.
Mary Wash-
ington.
Washington
accompanied

Braddock's
expedition as
volunteer
aid-de-camp.

The best
evidence of
what passes
before an
eye-witness
is a letter
written while
the matter is
fresh.—For
other pieces
by Washing-
ton, see *Old
South Leaf-
lets*, Nos. 10,
15, 16, 41, 47,
65; *Contem-
poraries*, II,
Nos. 108, 174,
195, 206.—
For a French
account of
Braddock's
defeat, see
*Contem-
poraries*, II,
No. 127.

The French
fort was Fort
Duquesne.
The engage-
ment took
place on the
banks of the
Mononga-
hela. The
French had
at least 800
men.

Braddock
insisted that
his men
should fight
in open line.

give you some account of the engagement as it happened, within ten miles of the French fort, on Wednesday the 9th instant.

We marched to that place, without any considerable loss, having only now and then a straggler picked up by the French and scouting Indians. When we came there, we were attacked by a party of French and Indians, whose number, I am persuaded, did not exceed three hundred men; while ours consisted of about one thousand three hundred well-armed troops, chiefly regular soldiers, who were struck with such a panic, that they behaved with more cowardice than it is possible to conceive. The officers behaved gallantly, in order to encourage their men, for which they suffered greatly, there being near sixty killed and wounded; a large proportion of the number we had.

The Virginia troops showed a good deal of bravery, and were nearly all killed; for I believe, out of three companies that were there, scarcely thirty men are left alive. Captain Peyrouny, and all his officers down to a corporal, were killed. Captain Polson had nearly as hard a fate, for only one of his was left. In short, the dastardly behaviour of those they call regulars exposed all others, that were inclined to do their duty, to almost certain death; and, at last, in despite of all the efforts of the officers to the contrary, they ran, as sheep pursued by dogs, and it was impossible to rally them.

The General was wounded, of which he died three days after. Sir Peter Halket was killed in the field, where died many other brave officers. I luckily escaped without a wound, though I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me. Captains Orme and Morris, two of the aids-de-camp, were wounded early in the engagement, which rendered the duty harder upon me, as I was the only person then left to distribute the General's orders, which I was scarcely able to do, as I was not half

recovered from a violent illness, that had confined me to my bed and a wagon for above ten days. I am still in a weak and feeble condition, which induces me to halt here two or three days in the hope of recovering a little strength, to enable me to proceed homewards; from whence, I fear, I shall not be able to stir till towards September; so that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you till then, unless it be in Fairfax. . . . I am, honored Madam, your most dutiful son.

Braddock's defeat opened up the frontier to Indian inroads.

George Washington, *Writings* (edited by Jared Sparks, Boston, 1834), II, 86-88.



40. Capture of Quebec (1759)

IN the beginning of September [1759], the enemy again sent above Quebec, 12 vessels to join those already there; this made 20, and defiled along the South shore 3 thousand men who embarked above. M. de Bougainville's detachment was then reinforced, and he was ordered to follow the movements of those ships. They were usually anchored at Cap Rouge, 3 leagues above Quebec. M. de Bourgenville was encamped there, with a very strong portion of his men. That officer followed the ships, according as they moved up or down.

At length, during the night of the 12th and 13th, the enemy embarked in barges alongside their ships and passed in front of the posts we had between M. de Bougainville and the town; four different sentinels contented themselves with calling out, *Qui vive?* They answered, *France!* They were allowed to pass unrecognized.

The officers who were in command of those posts, did so under the persuasion that they were flat bateaux [boats] loaded with our provisious[-ns], which the Commandant of the

By FRANÇOIS BIGOT, intendant of Canada from 1748 to the capture of Quebec. This is part of an official letter to the war department in Paris. The importance of the capture lay in the fact that there was no other strong point of defence: when Quebec fell, Canada virtually changed hands. The piece illustrates the importance of hearing both sides of a story.—For an account from

the other side, see *Old South Leaflets*, No. 73; *Contemporaries*, II, No. 129.

Qui vive? = "who goes there?"

This point is now called "Wolfe's Cove."

Plains of Abraham.

Provinces of France.

place had ordered that very night to be allowed to pass, and which did not come ; they were to leave Cap Rouge. The English being arrived in front of a steep hill, three quarters of a league from the town, and which they, no doubt, discovered, was unguarded, ascended it, and attacked one of our rear posts that guarded a slope leading to the water's edge. The officer of that post received several wounds, but was taken prisoner with his detachment. The enemy, thereupon, cleared the slope and landed their army which was waiting in the barges the success of their van-guard. The ships were dropping down, meanwhile, to support their barges. M. de Bougainville did not follow them, expecting they would return on the flow of the tide, as they usually did.

At day-break, we were informed at the camp that some of our posts, above Quebec, had been attacked. The Marquis de Montcalm, who did not look on the matter as so serious, sent at first only a few pickets to their assistance, ordering a large portion of our army to follow him ; this had diminished, in efficiency and numbers, [to] three thousand men or thereabouts, who were under the command of M. de Bougainville. They were all picked men, being composed of the grenadiers and volunteers of the army, both troops and Canadians.

The Marquis de Montcalm was much surprised, when he had ascended the height in the rear of the city, to see the English army, which was forming on the plain. He gave orders to hasten the march of the body which was coming to join him, and scarcely had it reached the ground on which he stood, when he marched against the enemy and commenced the attack. These different corps, among which were the battalions of La Sarre, Royal Rousillon, Languedoc Guienne and Bearn, amounted only to 3,500 men, or thereabouts. Some of them came a league and a half ; they had not time to recover their breath. This little army fired two volleys at that of the English, which amounted, in like

manner, to only 3 @. [or] 4 thousand men, but ours, unfortunately, took to flight at the first fire from the enemy, and would have been utterly destroyed, had not 8 @. 900 Canadians thrown themselves into a little wood near St. John's gate, whence they kept up so constant a fire on the enemy, that the latter were obliged to halt in order to return it. This firing lasted a full half hour, which gave the flying troops and Canadians time to reach the bridge we had on the River St. Charles, to communicate with our troops.

'Twas in that retreat that the Marquis de Montcalm received a ball in the loins, as he was on the point of entering the town by the St. Louis gate. I know all the particulars of that landing from English officers of my acquaintance who have communicated them to me ; adding, that Mr. Wolfe did not expect to succeed ; that he had not attempted to land above Quebec, and that he was to sacrifice only his van-guard which consisted of 200 men ; that were these fired on, they were all to reëmbark ; that the large guns and mortars posted opposite the town had been put again on board, and the troops were to return and leave on the 20th September.

We experienced on the same morning, two misfortunes which we should never have foreseen : 1st The surprisal of one of our posts that considered itself in security, being guarded by several that were nearer the enemy. 2nd The loss of a battle.

E. B. O'Callaghan, editor and translator, *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York* (Albany, 1858), X, 1051-1052.

The English force was about 3,250.

Wolfe meant to succeed.

CHAPTER VII—COLONIAL LIFE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By COLONEL
JOHN SEY-
MOUR
(†1712),
governor of
Maryland
from 1703 to
his death.
The extract
is from a letter
to the
Lords of
Trade, rela-
tive to Queen
Anne's war
(1702-1713).
In all his
communica-
tions to the
English gov-
ernment, Sey-
mour seems
to have taken
a somewhat
pessimistic
view of exist-
ing colonial
conditions,
especially of
those in
Maryland.—
For the con-
ditions of
colonial life,
see *Contem-
poraries*, I,
chs. ix, xiii,
xiv, xxi, xxii,
xxiii, xxvi;
II, Part IV.

"3*s.* 6*d.* per
cent"—about
a halfpenny
a pound for
tobacco.

41. Discomforts of Colonial Life (1708)

WE are dayly made sencible of the loss and removall
of divers Inhabitants and residents in this Province
to our neighboring Collonys of Pensilvania & Carolina ; The
chief notices [indications] whereto are the present Poverty
of this Country, the Planters having suffered extreamly this
present Warr in the Marketts being shut up so that after the
numerous hazards of unseasonable weather, lack of Plants,
the Fly, the ground worme the house wormes, it's [*i.e.* the
crop's] being house-burnt, frostbitten, [after] the danger of
sea and our enimys, [have been] all encountered and over-
come the freightes have not had near the vallue of their
labour or expence of servants cloathing &c : and those who
have layd out their Cropps with the Merchants in the Coun-
try, have not been able to get above three shillings and
sixpence $\frac{3}{4}$ [per] cent so that for many years last past
servants and slaves have proved burthensome to many Mas-
ters and helpt by hard labour to impoverish them.

The Inhabitants of North Carolina finding in what ill
Circumstances wee are, here many being indebted for more
than their Stocks, made an Act of Assembly there, inviting
all persons to settle with them under the Protection of five
yeares exemption from paying their debts, which has drawn
many familys thither, again Pensilvania on the other hand
by raising the vallue of their coynes [coins] to so extraordi-
nary a height beyond her Majties Royall Proclamation, and
the great encouragment they give to saylors has induced

many young freemen artifisers and saylors to quit this Province and settle there, so that unles her Maj^ty be graciously pleased to lay her com[m]ands on those Governments to repeale the aforesaid Carrolina Act of Assembly and conforme themselves in lowering their coyns according to the Proclamation, there is no likelyhood of preventing her subjects continuall desertion hence to those less profitable Collony's.

As for those miserable people that are so much indebted, I know not why their deplorable circumstances should not be taken into consideration by her Majesty being pleased to recommend to the Generall Assembly an Act of Bankruptcy in their favour to acquitt them upon delivering up their all to their Credito^rs which is as much as can be required and that it shall be Fellony to conceale or imbeazill [embezzle] so that they may be once more enabled to begin the world againe, and her Majesty not lose the use of so many subjects.

"Lowering
the coins"
meant a de-
preciation of
the currency.

William L. Saunders, editor, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1886), I, 682-683.



42. The Great Awakening in New England (1740)

FRIDAY, September 19 [1740]. Slept pretty well, and in the Morning perceived fresh Emanations of divine Light break in upon and refresh my Soul. Was visited by several Gentlemen and Ministers, and went to the Governor's with Esquire Willard, Secretary of the Province, a Man fearing God, and with whom (tho' before unknown in Person) I have corresponded some Time. The Governor received me with the utmost Respect: He seemed to favour the Things which were of God, and desired me to

By
REVEREND
GEORGE
WHITE-
FIELD (1714-
1770), a
celebrated
English
Methodist
preacher and
revivalist.
In the inter-
val between
1738 and
1769 he
made seven
voyages to
America,
and finally
died here.
The religious
movement
known as

the "Great Awakening," and the rise of the "New Lights," about 1740, were stirred by him.—

For Whitefield, see *Contemporaries*, II, No. 43.— For religious life in the colonies, see *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 49, 85, 93, 94, 96, 108, 110, 112, 129, 169; II, ch. xv.

The governor of the province of Massachusetts was Jonathan Belcher.— See *Contemporaries*, II, No. 100.

The commissary at Boston, Roger Price, was the representative of the Bishop of London, who had ecclesiastical jurisdiction of members of the Church of England in the colonies.

The "college" was Harvard, then under President Holyoke, in the parish of Rev. Nathaniel Appleton.

see him as often as I could. At eleven I went to publick Worship at the Church of *England*, and afterwards went home with the Commissary, who read Prayers. He received me very courteously, and it being a Day whereon the Clergy of the established Church met, I had an Opportunity of conversing with five of them together. . . .

Wednesday, September 24. Went this Morning to see and preach at *Cambridge*, the chief College for training up the Sons of the Prophets in all *New-England*. It has one President, I think four Tutors, and about a hundred Students. It is scarce as big as one of our least Colleges in *Oxford*, and as far as I could gather from some who well knew the State of it, not far superior to our Universities in Piety and true Godliness. Tutors neglect to pray with and examine the Hearts of their Pupils. Discipline is at too low an Ebb. Bad Books are become fashionable amongst them. *Tillotson* and *Clarke* are read instead of *Sheppard*, *Stoddard*, and such like evangelical Writers; and therefore, I chose to preach on these Words, *We are not as many who corrupt the Word of God*. And in the Conclusion of my Sermon, I made a close Application to Tutors and Students. A great Number of neighbouring Ministers attended, as indeed they do at all other Times; and God gave me great Boldness and Freedom of Speech. The President of the College and Minister of the Parish treated me very civilly. In the Afternoon I preached again in the Court, without any particular Application to the Students. I believe there were about 7000 Hearers. The Holy Spirit melted many Hearts. The Word was attended with manifest Power . . .

Sunday, October 19. Felt wonderful Satisfaction in being at the House of Mr. *Edwards*. He is a Son himself, and hath also a Daughter of *Abraham* for his Wife. A sweeter Couple I have not yet seen. Their Children were dressed not in Silks and Satins, but plain, as becomes the Children of those who, in all Things, ought to be Examples of Chris-

tian Simplicity. "She is a Woman adorn'd with a meek and quiet Spirit, talked feelingly and solidly of the Things of God, and seemed to be such a Help meet for her Husband, that she caused me to renew those Prayers, which, for some Months, I have put up to God, that he would be pleased to send me a Daughter of *Abraham* to be my Wife." — "I find, upon many Accounts, it is my Duty to marry. — Lord I desire to have no Choice of my own. Thou knowest my Circumstances ; thou knowest I only desire to marry in and for thee. Thou didst chuse a *Rebecca* for *Isaac*, chuse one for me to be a Help meet for me, in carrying on that great Work committed to my Charge." *Lord, hear me, Lord, let my Cry come unto thee.* Preached this Morning, collected 59*l.* and perceived the Meeting begin sooner, and rise higher than before. Dear Mr. *Edwards* wept during the whole Time of Exercise.—The People were equally, if not more affected, and my own Soul was much lifted up towards God. In the Afternoon the Power encreased yet more and more. . . .

George Whitefield, *Continuation of . . . [his] Journal, from a few Days after his Return to Georgia to his Arrival at Falmouth, on the 11th of March, 1741* (London, 1741), 23-47 *passim.*

43. A Satire on Tobacco Planters (1708)

THE SOT-WEED FACTOR; OR, A VOYAGE TO MARYLAND, &c.

FOR full three Months, our waveriu[n]g Boat,
Did thro' the surley Ocean float,
And furious Storms and threat'ning Blasts,
Both tore our Sails and sprung our Masts:
Wearied, yet pleas'd, we did escape
Such Ills, we anchor'd at the *Cape*;

John Tillotson and Samuel Clarke were philosophical critics.

Reverend Jonathan Edwards of Northampton was the greatest of the New England ministers of this period.

By EBEN-EZER COOK.
Nothing definite is known concerning the author of this piece. Although the verses are plainly in many respects a caricature, they throw valuable light on the ruder side of the

period.—
For the life of
the people of
the colonies,
see *Contem-
poraries*,
II, ch. xii.—
“Sot-weed”
is of course a
satire for
tobacco.—
For tobacco
planting, see
*Contempora-
ries*, I, Nos.
50, 83, 87, 88.
— For Mary-
land, see
above,
No. 18.—The
following
side-notes
are from the
original.

“By the
Cape, is
meant the
Capes of Vir-
ginia, the
first Land on
the Coast of
Virginia and
Mary-Land.”

“To *Cove* is
to lie at An-
chor safe in
Harbour.”

“The Bay of
Piscato-way,
the usual
place where
our Ships
come to an
Anchor in
Mary-Land.”

“The Plant-
ers generally
wear Blue
Linnen.”

“A *Canoo* is
an *Indian*
Boat, cut out

But weighing soon, we plough'd the *Bay*,
To Cove it in *Piscato-way*,
Intending there to open Store,
I put myself and Goods a-shore :
Where soon repair'd a numerous Crew,
In Shirts and Drawers of *Scotch-cloth* Blue. }
With neither Stockings, Hat, nor Shooe. }
These *Sot-weed* Planters Crowd the Shoar,
In Hue as tawny as a Moor :
Figures so strange, no God design'd,
To be a part of Humane Kind :
But wanton Nature, void of Rest,
Moulded the brittle Clay in Jest.

• • • • •
But e're their Manners I display, }
I think it fit I open lay }
My Entertainment by the way ; }
That Strangers well may be aware on,
VVhat homely Diet they must fare on.
To touch that Shoar, where no good Sense is found,
But Conversation's lost, and Manners drown'd.
I crost unto the other side, }
A River whose impetuous Tide, }
The Savage Borders does divide ; }
In such a shining odd invention,
I scarce can give its due Dimention.
The *Indians* call this watry Waggon
Canoo, a Vessel none can brag on ;
Cut from a *Popular-Tree*, or *Pine*,
And fashion'd like a Trough for Swine :
In this most noble Fishing-Boat,
I boldly put myself a-float ;
Standing Erect, with Legs stretch'd wide,
We paddled to the other side :
Where being Landed safe by hap,

As *Sol* fell into *Thetis* Lap.
 A ravenous Gang bent on the stroul,
 Of Wolves for Prey, began to howl ;
 This put me in a pannick Fright,
 Least I should be devoured quite :
 But as I there a musing stood,
 And quite benighted in a Wood,
 A Female Voice pierc'd thro' my Ears,
 Crying, *You Rogue drive home the Steers.*
 I listen'd to th' attractive sound,
 And straight a Herd of Cattel found }
 Drove by a Youth, and homewards bound : }
 Cheer'd with the sight, I straight thought fit,
 To ask where I a Bed might get.
 The surley Peasant bid me stay,
 And ask'd from whom I'de run away.
 Surpriz'd at such a saucy Word,
 I instantly lugg'd out my Sword ;
 Swearing I was no Fugitive,
 But from *Great-Britain* did arrive, }
 In hopes I better there might Thrive. }
 To which he mildly made reply,
I beg your Pardon, Sir, that I
Should talk to you Unmannerly ; }
But if you please to go with me }
To yonder House, you'll welcome be. }

Encountring soon the smoaky Seat,
 The Planter old did thus me greet :
 “Whether you come from Goal or Colledge,
 You're welcome to my certain Knowledge ;
 And if you please all Night to stay,
 My Son shall put you in the way.”
 Which offer I most kindly took,
 And for a Seat did round me look :
 VVhen presently amongst the rest,

of the body
of a Poplery-
Tree.”

[“Popular-
tree” =
poplar.]

[Stroul =
stroll.]

“Wolves are
very numer-
ous in *Mary-
Land.*”

“ ‘Tis sup-
posed by the
Planters, that
all unknown
Persons are
run away
from some
Master.”

[Goal = jail.]

[*I.e.* in process of fermentation.]

"Pon is Bread made of Indian-Corn."

"Mush is a sort of Hasty-pudding [n]g made with Water and Indian Flower."

"Homine is a Dish that is made of boiled Indian Wheat, eaten with Molossus, or Bacon-Fat."

"Syder-pap is a sort of Food made of Syder and small Homine, like our Oat-meal."

[*I.e.* keg.]

He plac'd his unknown *English Guest*,
Who found them drinking for a whet,
A Cask of Syder on the Fret,
Till Supper came upon the Table,
On which I fed whilst I was able.
So after hearty Entertainment,
Of Drink and Victuals without Payment ;
For Planters Tables, you must know,
Are free for all that come and go.
While Pon and Milk, with Mush well stoar'd,
In wooden Dishes grac'd the Board ;
With Homine and Syder-pap,
(Which scarce a hungry Dog wou'd lap)
VVell stuff'd with Fat, from Bacon fry'd,
Or with *Molossus dulcify'd*.
Then out our Landlord pulls a Pouch,
As greasy as the Leather Couch
On which he sat, and straight begun,
To load with VVeel his *Indian Gun* ;
In length, scarce longer than ones Finger,
.
His Pipe smoak'd out with aweful Grace,
With aspect grave and solemn pace ;
The reverend Sire walks to a Chest,
Of all his Furniture the best,
Closely confin'd within a Room,
VWhich seldom felt the weight of Broom ;
From thence he lugs a Cag of Rum,
And nodding to me, thus begun :
I find, says he, you don't much care,
For this our *Indian Country Fare* ;
But let me tell you, Friend of mine, }
You may be glad of it in time, }
Tho' now your Stomach is so fine ; }
And if within this Land you stay,

You'll find it true what I do say.
 This said, the Rundlet up he threw,
 And bending backwards strongly drew :
 I pluck'd as stoutly for my part,
 Altho' it made me sick at Heart,
 And got so soon into my Head
 I scarce cou'd find my way to Bed ;

.

Eben[ezer] Cook, *The Sot-Weed Factor: or, a Voyage to Maryland* (London, 1708), 1-5 *passim*.

44. Social Life in Philadelphia (1744)

PHILADELPHIA, Friday, June 1st [1744].

THE Sun had run his course in our Hemisphere for the space of two hours, before the Leaden Scepter was removed from my Eye Lids, at last about a half an hour past 6, I had those Instruments of Sight and Doors of the Mind laid open, and Jump'd from my Bed in some haste, designing before that time to have been at the Market Place ; the days of Market are Tuesday and Friday, when you may be Supply'd with every Necessary for the Support of Life thro'ut [throughout] the whole year, both Extraordinary Good and reasonably Cheap, it is allow'd by Foreigners to be the best of its bigness in the known World, and undoubt-edly the largest in America ; I got to this place by 7 ; and had no small Satisfaction in seeing the pretty Creatures, the young Ladies, traversing the place from Stall to Stall where they cou'd make the best Market, some with their Maid behind them with a Basket to carry home the Purchase, Others that were designed to buy but trifles, as a little fresh Butter, a Dish of Green Peas, or the like, had Good Nature

By WILLIAM BLACK, secretary of the commissioners appointed by Governor Gooch of Virginia to unite with those of Maryland and Pennsylvania, to treat with the Iroquois concerning Western lands. This expedition set out in May, 1744. Black gives a pleasant picture of the social life of a well-to-do town, and illustrates the value of a contemporary diary.—For social life, see above, No.

32; *Contemporaries*, II, ch. xii.

Bouquet.

A wealthy Irish Quaker.

Richard Peters, secretary of the province.

Cinchona bark; the predecessor of quinine.

The oldest Episcopal church in Philadelphia, founded about 1695. The present church building was begun in 1729.

Thomas Lee and William Beverley were the other members of the Virginia commission, and the other gentlemen mentioned made up their "levee," or following. Hamilton was son of the famous lawyer, Andrew Hamilton.

and Humility enough to be their own Porters . . . after I had made my Market, which was One penny worth of Whey and a Nose Gay, I Disengag'd myself from the Multitude, and made the best of my way to Mr. Strettell's where I Breakfasted . . .

[June 3.] Rose at 7, took several turns in the Garden with Mr. Peters & Bob Brooks, afterwards I went to Mr. Strettells; found Colonel Lee not well, having Intermittent Fevers, for which he Resol'd [resolved] to take the Bark; after Breakfast I return'd to my Room and Dress'd, and in Company with Mr. Secretary, Col. Beverley, and some more of our Gang, I went to Christ's Church, where I heard a very Good Discourse on the Words in the 19 Ch. of Matthew and 46 Verse. This Church is a very Stately Building, but is not yet Finished. The Paintings of the Altar Piece will, when done, be very Grand; two Rows of Corinthian Pillars, and Arches turn'd from the one to the other Supports the Roof and the Galleries, the Peughs [pews] and Boxes were not all done so that everything seem'd half finished. I was not a little Surpris'd to see such a Number of Fine Women in one Church, as I never had heard Philadelphia noted Extraordinary that way; but I must say, since I have been in America, I have not seen so fine a Collection at one time and Place. After this Congregation was Dismiss'd, Colonel Taylor, Mr. Lewis, &c., of the Levee went to the Commissioners' Lodgings, where we found Colonel Lee ready to go to Mr. Andrew Hamilton's where we were Invited to Dine this Day; about a Quarter after 1 O'Clock we had Dinner, and I do assure you a very fine one, but as I am not able to draw up a Bill of Fare, I shall only say, that we had very near 18 Dish of Meat, besides a very nice Collation; after this was over, it was time for to think of going to Church for Afternoon, accordingly, most of our young Company with my Self, went in order to Visit the Reverend Mr. Gilbert Tennant, a Disciple of the Great

Whitefield, whose followers are Call'd the New Lights ; we found him Delivering his Doctrine with a very Good Grace, Split his Text as Judiciously, turn'd up the Whites of his Eyes as Theologically, Cuff'd his Cushion as Orthodoxly, and twist'd his Band as Primitively as his Master Whitefield cou[1]d have done, had he been there himself ; We were not Converts enough to hear him to an end, but withdrew very Circumspectly, and bent our Course to the Quaker Meeting, where we found one of the Travelling Friends, Labouring Under the Spirit very Powerfully, had he been a little more Calm, and not hurried himself so on, as if he had not half time to say what he had in his Mind, We as well as the Rest of his Brethern, wou[l]d have received more Instruction, but one Sentence came so fast treading on the heels of Another, that I was in great pain of his Choaking : however, we had Patience to hear him out, and after a little Pause he gave us a Short Prayer, and then Struck hands with two Elderly Friends on his Right and Left, and we broke up . . .

For Whitefield, see above,
No. 42.

For Quakers,
see above,
No. 30.

*Journal of William Black, 1744; edited by R. Alonzo Brock, in Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (Philadelphia, 1877), I, 405-412 *passim*.*



45. The Town of New York (1748)

NEW YORK, the capital of a province of the same name is situated under forty deg. and forty min. north lat. and forty seven deg. and four min. of western long. from *London* ; and is about ninety seven *English* miles distant from *Philadelphia*. The situation of it is extremely advantageous for trade : for the town stands upon a point which is formed by two bays ; into one of which the river *Hudson*

No. 45 is by
PROFESSOR
PETER
KALM.—
For Kalm,
see above,
No. 38.—For
New York in
the eight-
eenth cen-
tury, see *Con-
temporaries*,
II, No. 32.
“Forty
seven,” mis-
print for
“seventy-
four.”

Populations
were about
as follows :
Boston,
18,000;
Philadelphia,
13,000;
New York,
12,000.

discharges itself, not far from the town ; *New York* is therefore on three sides surrounded with water : the ground it is built on, is level in some parts, and hilly in others : the place is generally reckoned very wholesome. . . .

. . . in size it comes nearest to *Boston* and *Philadelphia*. But with regard to its fine buildings, its opulence, and extensive commerce, it disputes the preference with them : at present it is about half as big again as *Gothenburgh* in *Sweden*.

THE streets do not run so straight as those of *Philadelphia*, and have sometimes considerable bendings : however they are very spacious and well built, and most of them are paved, except in high places, where it has been found useless. In the chief streets there are trees planted, which in summer give them a fine appearance, and during the excessive heat at that time, afford a cooling shade : I found it extremely pleasant to walk in the town, for it seemed quite like a garden . . .

MOST of the houses are built of bricks ; and are generally strong and neat, and several stories high. Some had, according to old architecture, turned the gable-end towards the streets ; but the new houses were altered in this respect. Many of the houses had a balcony on the roof, on which the people used to sit in the evenings in the summer season ; and from thence they had a pleasant view of a great part of the town, and likewise of part of the adjacent water and of the opposite shore. The roofs are commonly covered with tiles or shingles . . . The walls were whitewashed within, and I did not any where see hangings, with which the people in this country seem in general to be but little acquainted. The walls were quite covered with all sorts of drawings and pictures in small frames. On each side of the chimnies they had usually a sort of alcove ; and the wall under the windows was wainscoted, and had benches placed near it. The alcoves, and all the wood work were painted with a bluish grey colour.

"Hangings"
=wall-paper.

THERE are several churches in the town, which deserve some attention. 1. *The English Church*, built in the year 1695, at the west end of [the] town, consisting of stone, and has a steeple with a bell. 2. *The new Dutch Church*, which is likewise built of stone, is pretty large and is provided with a steeple, it also has a clock, which is the only one in the town. . . .

Trinity
Church.

TOWARDS the sea, on the extremity of the promontory is a pretty good fortress, called *Fort George*, which entirely commands the port, and can defend the town, at least from a sudden attack on the sea side. Besides that, it is likewise secured on the north or towards the shore, by a pallisade, which however (as for a considerable time the people have had nothing to fear from an enemy) is in many places in a very bad state of defence.

Fort Am-
sterdam
under
the
Dutch; in
1664 called
Fort James;
in 1674,
Fort George;
demolished
at the close
of the Revo-
lution.

THERE is no good water to be met with in the town itself, but at a little distance there is a large spring of good water, which the inhabitants take for their tea, and for the uses of the kitchen. Those however, who are less delicate in this point, make use of the water from the wells in town, though it be very bad. This want of good water lies heavy upon the horses of the strangers that come to this place ; for they do not like to drink the water from the wells in the town.

Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America* (translated by John Reinhold Forster, Warrington, 1770), I, 247-252 *passim*.

46. A Southern Criticism of Slavery (1736)

. . . YOUR Lord^{ps} [Lordship's] opinion concerning Rum and Negros is certainly very just, and your excluding both of them from your Colony of Georgia will be very happy ; tho' with Respect to Rum, the Saints of New England I fear will find out some trick to evade

By COLONEL
WILLIAM
BYRD (1674-
1744). Byrd,
receiver-
general of
Virginia,
member of
the council,
agent for the
colony in
England,
and founder

of Richmond, was one of the most cultivated and influential men of his time. The extract given is from a letter written in 1736 to the Earl of Egmont, first president of the trustees for Georgia. It presents a most sane and just estimate of the consequences of slavery, by a slave-holder and keen buyer of slaves. It is an excellent example of the value of unrestrained private letters as historical evidence.—For Byrd, see *Contemporaries*, II, No. 82.—For slavery, see above, No. 35; *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 70, 86, 87; II, ch. xvi.

Byrd was an Episcopalian and a Cavalier.

Importation of slaves began in 1619.

your Act of Parliament. They have a great dexterity at palliating a perjury so well as to leave no taste of it in the mouth, nor can any people like them slip through a penal statute. They will give some other Name to their Rum, which they may safely do, because it go[e]s by that of Kill-Devil in this country from its banefull qualities. A watchfull Eye must be kept on these foul Traders or all the precautions of the Trustees will be in vain.

I wish my Lord we cou[l]d be blesst with the same Prohibition. They import so many Negros hither, that I fear this Colony will some time or other be confirmd by the Name of New Guinea. I am sensible of many bad consequences of multiplying these Ethiopians amongst us. They blow up the pride, and ruin the Industry of our White People, who se[e]ing a Rank of poor Creatures below them, detest work for fear it shou[l]d make them look like Slaves. Then that poverty which will ever attend upon Idleness, disposes them as much to pilfer as it do[e]s the Portuguese, who account it much more like a Gentleman to steal, than to dirty their hands with Labour of any kind.

Another unhappy Effect of Many Negros is the necessity of being severe. Numbers make them insolent, and then foul Means must do what fair will not. We have however nothing like the Inhumanity here that is practiced in the Islands, and God forbid we ever shou[l]d. But these base Tempers require to be rid[den] with a tort [taut] Rein, or they will be apt to throw their Rider. Yet even this is terrible to a good natur[e]d Man, who must submit to be either a Fool or a Fury. And this will be more our unhappy case, the more Negros are increast amongst us.

But these private mischeifs are nothing if compar[e]d to the publick danger. We have already at least 10,000 Men of these descendants of Ham fit to bear Arms, and their Numbers increase every day as well by birth as Importation. And in case there shoud arise a Man of desperate courage

amongst us, exasperated by a desperate fortune, he might with more advantage than Cataline kindle a Servile War. Such a man might be dreadfully mischeivous before any opposition could be formd against him, and tinge our Rivers as wide as they are with blood. besides the Calamitys which wou[ll]d be brought upon us by such an Attempt, it woud cost our Mother Country many a fair Million to make us as profitable as we are at present.

For laws
against ne-
groes, see
above, No.
35.

It were therefore worth the consideration of a British Parliament, My Lord, to put an end to this unchristian Traffick of makeing Merchandise of Our Fellow Creatures. At least the farthar Importation of them into our Our Colonys shoud be prohibited lest they prove as troublesome and dangerous everywhere, as they have been lately in Jamaica, where besides a vast expence of Mony, they have cost the lives of many of his Majesty's Subjects. We have mountains in Virginia too, to which they may retire as safely, and do as much mischeif as they do in Jamaica. All these matters duly consider[e]d, I wonder the Legislature will Indulge a few ravenous Traders to the danger of the Publick safety, and such Traders as woud freely sell their Fathers, their Elder Brothers, and even the Wives of their bosomes, if they coud black their faces and get anything by them.

On the con-
trary, the
English gov-
ernment can-
celled all
colonial stat-
utes limiting
or taxing the
trade.

I entirely agree with your Lord^p in the Detestation you seem to have for that Diabolical Liquor Rum, which dos more mischeif to Peoples Industry and morals than any thing except Gin and the Pope. And if it were not a little too Poetical, I shoud fancy, as the Gods of Old were said to quaff Nectar, so the Devils are fobbd off with Rumm. Tho' my Dear Country Men woud think this unsavory Spirit much too Good for Devils, because they are fonder of it than they are of their Wives and Children . . .

See below,
No. 112,
for John
Brown's raid.

Fobb'd =
tricked.

47. A Colonial School-Boy (1760-1766)

By ALEXANDER GRAYDON (1752-1818), author, lawyer, and for a time captain in the continental army. His memoirs are a most interesting commentary on the times in which he lived. The piece is a good example of reminiscences written late in life, in which details are of little weight but the general impression is accurate. — For intellectual life in the colonies, see *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 89, 137, 146, 171; II, ch. xiv.

BEING now, probably, about eight years of age, it was deemed expedient to enter me at the academy, then, as it now continues to be, under the name of a university, the principal seminary in Pennsylvania; and I was accordingly introduced by my father, to Mr. Kinnesley, the teacher of English and professor of oratory. . . . The task, of the younger boys, at least, consisted in learning to read and to write their mother tongue grammatically; and one day in the week (I think Friday) was set apart for the recitation of select passages in poetry and prose. For this purpose, each scholar, in his turn, ascended the stage, and said his speech, as the phrase was. This speech was carefully taught him by his master, both with respect to its pronunciation, and the action deemed suitable to its several parts. . . . More profit attended my reading. After Æsop's fables, and an abridgment of the Roman history, Telemachus was put into our hands; and if it be admitted that the human heart may be bettered by instruction, mine, I may aver, was benefited by this work of the virtuous Fenelon. . . .

. . . A few days after I had been put under the care of Mr. Kinnersley, I was told by my class mates, that it was necessary for me to fight a battle with some one, in order to establish my claim to the honor of being an academy boy. . . . I found that the lists were appointed, and that a certain John Appowen, a lad who, though not quite so tall, [was] yet better set and older than myself, was pitted against me. . . . A combat immediately ensued between Appowen and myself, which for some time, was maintained on each side, with equal vigor and determination, when unluckily, I received his fist directly in my gullet. The blow for a time depriving me of breath and the power of resistance, victory declared for my adversary, though not without the acknowledgment

of the party, that I had at last behaved well, and shewn myself not unworthy of the name of an academy boy. . . .

I have said that I was about to enter the Latin school. The person whose pupil I was consequently to become, was Mr. John Beveridge, a native of Scotland, who retained the smack of his vernacular tongue in its primitive purity. His acquaintance with the language he taught, was I believe, justly deemed to be very accurate and profound. But as to his other acquirements, after excepting the game of back-gammon, in which he was said to excel, truth will not warrant me in saying a great deal. He was, however, diligent and laborious in his attention to his school; and had he possessed the faculty of making himself beloved by the scholars, and of exciting their emulation and exertion, nothing would have been wanting in him to an entire qualification for his office. But unfortunately, he had no dignity of character, and was no less destitute of the art of making himself respected than beloved. Though not perhaps to be complained of as intolerably severe, he yet made a pretty free use of the ratan and the ferule, but to very little purpose. . . .

. . . as my evil star would have it, I was thoroughly tired of books and confinement, and her [his mother's] advice and even entreaties were overruled by my extreme repugnance to a longer continuance in the college, which, to my lasting regret, I bid adieu to when a little turned of fourteen, at the very season when the minds of the studious begin to profit by instruction. We were at this time reading Horace and Cicero, having passed through Ovid, Virgil, Cæsar and Salust. . . .

Flogging was
the common
discipline in
schools.

[Alexander Graydon] *Memoirs of a Life, chiefly passed in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1811), 16-31 *passim*.

CHAPTER VIII—COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

By JAMES
EARL OF
STANHOPE
(1673-1721).
Stanhope
was English
secretary of
state for the
Southern
Department
most of the
time from
1714 till his
death, and
head of the
colonies from
1718. The
year after he
became sec-
retary he re-
ferred to the
Lords of
Trade a
scheme or
treatise relat-
ing to the
plantations,
i.e. colonies,
of which the
extract here
given forms a
part. The
piece is a
good ex-
ample of
official rec-
ords as a
source of
historical
knowledge.
—For prin-
ciples of
English con-
trol, see *Con-
temporaries*,
I, ch. vii;
II, ch. vii.

48. The English Council for Trade and Plantations (1715)

THE Board was erected about fifteen Years since, as has bin before observed. By their Commission they are directed to enquire into the severall obstructions of Trade, and the means of removing the same. And particularly to inform themselves of the condition of the respective Plantations, as well with regard to the Government and administration of Justice in those places, as the Commerce thereof. And to consider how the Collonys there may be eased, and secured, and rendered more beneficial to England. To look into Governors Instructions, and see what is fit to be added omitted or changed in them. To take an account yearly by way of Journal of the administrations of such Governments. To hear Complaints of oppressions and Male-Administrations from the Plantations. To examine into and weigh such Acts as shall be passed in the Plantation Assemblies, and to consider whether they are fit for his Majesty to consent to, and establish for Laws. And upon these and severall other heads to make representations to his Majesty of such regulations as are fit to be made in the Plantations. As by a Copy of the said Commission will more fully appear.

If this power had bin always vested in persons of knowledge and Integrity, to whom the plantation Affairs were well known and [who were] unanimous in the design of promoting the publick service only, it might have produced much good. But there having bin many persons at severall

times put into that Commission *for different reasons than* [than] *their ability* to discharge such a trust (as is well known) it has not hitherto produced such effects as might be expected from it. And it was impossible that Board should make a right Judgment of wrongs, oppressions, and Male administrations, and of Acts, sent from the Plantations to be passed into Laws, or be able to represent what regulations were fit to be made in the Governments, and administration of Justice, unless some at that Board had a perfect and personal knowledge of the nature of the Plantations, and of the people, as likewise of their different Laws and Constitutions.

Many instances might be here given of many incredible things done, and omitted by that Board, but since the design of this is not to reflect on past miscarriages but to prevent the like for the future, and since there is now reason to expect from his Majesty's Wisdom, and the Justice and prudence of his ministers that the said Councill will be in a short time better filled, two instances need only be now mentioned.

They are by the said Commission directed to examine and look into the usual Instructions given to Governors, and to see if anything may be added, omitted or changed therein to advantage. As likewise to consider what trades are taken up and exercised in the Plantations which are or may be prejudicial to England. They have accordingly had the consideration and settling of all such Instructions, in which nevertheless a clause has bin constantly incerted commanding Governors to endeavour, and encourage the setting of Workhouses to set the poor at work, and many Manufactures are made in the Collonys on the Continent of America, which encrease daily, so that in time they may supply our Sugar Collonys, as well as themselves with things that make a great part of our British Trade, to our great prejudice, and contrary to the Policy of all other Nations.

"Board of
Commission
ers for Trade
and Plan-
tations," usu-
ally called
"Lords of
Trade."

In the in-
structions the
home gov-
ernment laid
down its
colonial
policy.

The English
government
applied a
policy pro-
tective to
English
manufactur-
ers.

On instructions, see below,
No. 51.

They likewise continue the aforesaid Instructions against Appeals, and have bin so far from advising a change thereof, that about thirteen Years since, when on the Petition of many Merchants, and Planters about it, a Committee of the Privy Council made a report that it should be altered ; the then Board of Trade made an Interest to have it referred back to them, and on their report it has bin continued.

William A. Whitehead, editor, *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey* (Newark, 1882), IV, 358-360.

By SAMUEL PURVIANCE, JR., of Philadelphia, in a confidential letter to Colonel Burd, who was in the provincial service. The letter gives a graphic picture of the methods of a colonial politician, adroit in electioneering tactics. Franklin (see below, No. 51) was regarded as an enemy by the faction to which Purviance and Burd belonged, because, by his resistance to the policy of exempting the proprietary estates

49. How to Manage Elections (1765)

. . . I WENT lately up to Bucks Court, in order to concert measures for their [*i.e.* some friends'] election, in pursuance of which we have appointed a considerable meeting of the Germans, Baptists and Presbyterians, to be held next Monday at Neshaminy, where some of us, some Germans and Baptists of this place, have appointed to attend, in order to attempt a general confederacy of the three societies in opposition to the ruling party. We have sent up emissaries among the Germans, which I hope will bring them into this measure, and if it can be affected, will give us a great chance for carrying matters in that county. Could that be carried, it would infallibly secure our friends a majority in the House, and consequently enable them to recal our dangerous enemy, Franklin, with his petitions, which is the great object we have now in view, and which should engage the endeavors of all our friends at the approaching election to make a spirited push for a majority in the Assembly, without which all our struggles here will prove of little service to the public interest. . . . If you knew thoroughly the methods Mr. Franklin is taking at home to blacken and stigmatise our society, you

would perhaps judge with me that you never had more reason to exert yourselves in order to overset him, which we can only do by commanding a majority in the Assembly. I have seen a letter lately from a person of character, that advises [us of] his wicked designs against us. The little hopes of success, as well as the difficulty of engaging proper persons for the purpose, has discouraged me from attempting a project recommended by some friends, of sending up some Germans to work upon their countrymen. But that no probable means may fail, [I] have sent up some copies of a piece lately printed by Sowers, of Germantown, to be dispersed, and which may possibly have some effect. . . .

As I understand the Mennonists have certainly resolved to turn out Isaac Saunders this year, though the only good member your county has, I would beg leave to offer to you and other friends the following scheme, as the only probable chance, I think, you have to carry the election and keep Mr. Saunders. If the scheme is properly executed, and can be conducted without danger of a riot, I think you could infallibly carry your ticket by it.

Don't attempt to change any of your members save Webb. If you can run Dr. Kuhn, or any other popular German, and can keep Mr. Saunders, you will do great things. As soon as your ticket is agreed on, let it be spread through the country, that your party intend to come well armed to the election, and that you intend, if there's the least partiality in either sheriff, inspectors, or managers of the election, that you will thrash the sheriff, every inspector, Quaker and Mennonist to a jelly; and further, I would report it, that not a Mennonist nor German should be admitted to give in a ticket without being sworn that he is naturalized and worth £50, and that he has not voted already; and further, that if you discovered any person attempting to give in a vote without being naturalized, or voting twice, you would that moment deliver him up to the mob to chastise him.

from taxation, he had incurred the hostility of the proprietor.—For politics in Pennsylvania, see *Contemporaries*, II, Nos. 31, 61.—For colonial government, see *Contemporaries*, II Part III,

"Bucks Court," county seat of Bucks County.

Franklin was agent in England for Pennsylvania and other colonies.

For Mennonists, see above, No. 16.

Riots were very frequent in colonial times.—See *Contemporaries*, II, No. 30.

Let this report be industriously spread before the election, which will certainly keep great numbers of the Mennonists at home. I would at the same time have all our friends warned to put on a bold face, to be every man provided with a good shillelah [cudgel], as if determined to put their threats in execution, though at the same time let them be solemnly charged to keep the greatest order and peace. Let our friends choose about two dozen of the most reputable men, magistrates, &c., who shall attend the inspectors, sheriff and clerks during the whole election, to mount guard half at a time, and relieve one another in spells, to prevent all cheating and administer the oath to every suspicious person, and to commit to immediate punishment every one who offers to vote twice. I'll engage, if you conduct the election in that manner, and our people turn out with spirit, you can't fail of carrying every man on your ticket, as I am well assured not a third of the Mennonists are naturalized. I would submit this to your consideration. If it's well thought of, take your measures immediately. I beg no mention may be made of the author of this. I see no danger in the scheme but that of a riot, which would require great prudence to avoid.

[Thomas Balch, editor,] *Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1855), 209-212 *passim.*

By PROFESSOR PETER KALM.—
For Kalm,
see above,
No. 38.—
Disputes be-
tween the
governors
and assem-
blies, alluded
to in the

50. The Governor and Assembly in New York (1748)

A N assembly of deputies from all the particular districts of the province of *New York*, is held at *New York* once or twice every year. It may be looked upon as a parliament or dyet [diet] in miniature. Every thing relating

to the good of the province is here debated. The governor calls the assembly, and dissolves it at pleasure: this is a power which he ought only to make use of, either when no farther debates are necessary, or when the members are not so unanimous in the service of their king and country as is their duty: it frequently however happens, that, led aside by caprice or by interested views, he exerts it to the prejudice of the province. The colony has sometimes had a governor, whose quarrels with the inhabitants, have induced their representatives, or the members of the assembly, through a spirit of revenge, to oppose indifferently every thing he proposed, whether it was beneficial to the country or not. In such cases the governor has made use of his power; dissolving the assembly, and calling another soon after, which however he again dissolved upon the least mark of their ill humour. By this means he so much tired them, by the many expences which they were forced to bear in so short a time, that they were at last glad to unite with him, in his endeavours for the good of the province. But there have likewise been governors who have called assemblies and dissolved them soon after, merely because the representatives did not act according to their whims, or would not give their assent to proposals which were perhaps dangerous or hurtful to the common welfare.

THE king appoints the governor according to his royal pleasure; but the inhabitants of the province make up his excellency's salary. Therefore a man entrusted with this place has greater or lesser revenues, according as he knows how to gain the confidence of the inhabitants. There are examples of governors in this, and other provinces of *North America*, who by their dissensions with the inhabitants of their respective governments, have lost their whole salary, his Majesty having no power to make them [the inhabitants] pay it. If a governor had no other resource in these circumstances, he would be obliged either to resign his office,

piece, were common in almost every colony; and the control of the governor's salary was an important weapon in the hands of the representatives of the people.—For colonial governors and assemblies, see *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 68, 71, 80, 98, 102, 104, 106, 107, 111, 120, 122, 131, 136, 144; II, chs. viii, ix.

This was practically a license system.

or to be content with an income too small for his dignity ; or else to conform himself in every thing to the inclinations of the inhabitants : but there are several stated profits, which in some measure make up for this. 1. No one is allowed to keep a public house without the governor's leave ; which is only to be obtained by the payment of a certain fee, according to the circumstances of the person. Some governors therefore, when the inhabitants refused to pay them a salary, have hit upon the expedient of doubling the number of inns in their province. 2. Few people who intend to be married, unless they be very poor, will have their banns published from the pulpit ; but instead of this they get licences from the governor, which impower any minister to marry them. Now for such a licence the governor receives about half a guinea, and this collected throughout the whole province, amounts to a considerable sum. 3. The governor signs all passports, and especially of such as go to sea ; and this gives him another means of supplying his expences. There are several other advantages allowed to him, but as they are very trifling, I shall omit them.

At the above assembly the old laws are reviewed and amended, and new ones are made : and the regulation and circulation of coin, together with all other affairs of that kind are there determined. For it is to be observed that each *English colony in North America* is independent of the other, and that each has its proper laws and coin, and may be looked upon in several lights, as a state by itself. From hence it happens, that in time of war, things go on very slowly and irregularly here : for . . . the sense of one province is sometimes directly opposite to that of another . . .

Examples of colonial laws are in No. 35, above, and *American History Studies*, No. 1.

Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America* (translated by John Reinhold Forster, Warrington, 1770), I, 259-262 *passim*.

51. Objections to Governing of Colonies by Instructions (1772)

THE governing of colonies by instruction has long been a favorite point with ministers here. About thirty years since, in a bill brought into Parliament relating to America, they inserted a clause to make the King's instructions *laws* in the colonies, which, being opposed by the then agents, was thrown out. And I well remember a conversation with Lord Granville, soon after my arrival here, in which he expressed himself on that subject in the following terms. "Your American Assemblies slight the King's instructions, pretending that they are not laws. The instructions sent over to your governors are not like the pocket instructions given to ambassadors, to be observed at their discretion, as circumstances may require. They are drawn up by grave men, learned in the laws and constitutions of the realm; they are brought into Council, thoroughly weighed, well considered, and amended if necessary, by the wisdom of that body; and, when received by the governors, they are the laws of the land; for the King is the *legislator of the colonies.*"

I remember this the better, because, being a new doctrine to me, I put it down as soon as I returned to my lodgings. To be sure, if a governor thinks himself obliged to obey all instructions, whether consistent or inconsistent with the constitution, laws, and rights of the country he governs, and can proceed to govern in that train, there is an end of the constitution, and those rights are abolished. But I wonder, that any honest gentleman can think there is honor in being a governor on such terms. And I think the practice cannot possibly continue, especially if opposed with spirit by our Assemblies. At present no attention is paid by the American ministers to any agent here, whose appointment

By AGENT
BENJAMIN
FRANKLIN
(1706-1790),
philosopher
and states-
man, noted
for his earnest
and fruitful
endeavors in
the cause of
American
indepen-
dence. In
1772 he was
agent in Eng-
land for
several of the
colonies.
The extract
is from a pri-
vate letter to
James Bow-
dooin, of Mas-
sachusetts.

The "in-
structions,"
issued pri-
vately to
each new
governor for
his personal
guidance,
sometimes
conflicted
with the
charters or
customs of
the colonies;
and the
attempt to
make them a
basis of gov-
ernment was
one of the
hotly con-
tested points
of the pre-
Revolution-
ary period.—
For Franklin,
see *Old South
Leaflets,*
No. 9; Amer-
ican History

Leaflets, No. 14; *Contemporaries*, II, Nos. 68, 81, 94, 133, 143, 199, 217.—For instructions, see above, No. 48; *Contemporaries*, II, Nos. 53-55.

is not ratified by the governor's assent; and, if this is persisted in, you can have none to serve you in a public character, that do not render themselves agreeable to these ministers, and those otherwise appointed can only promote your interests by conversation, as private gentlemen or by writing.

Benjamin Franklin, *Works* (edited by Jared Sparks, Boston, 1838), VII, 549-550.

From the
BOSTON
TOWN REC-
ORDS. This
extract will
serve to indi-
cate the
manifold
functions of
that impor-
tant unit of
New Eng-
land life, the
town-meet-
ing, and also
to show the
interest and
value of local
records as
historical
material.—
For colonial
local gov-
ernment, see
Contempora-
ries, II, ch.
xi; for re-
ports of town-
meetings,
Contempora-
ries, I, Nos.
98, 165; II,
Nos. 78, 140.
Town-meet-
ings had to be
summoned
by warrant,

52. A Colonial Town-Meeting (1729)

AT a Meeting of the Freeholders & Other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston Duly Qualified being Regularly Assembled in a Publick Town meeting at the Town House Tuesday May the 6th 1729—

After Prayer by the Rev^d m^r Thomas Prince Elisha Cooke Esq^r Chose Moderator for this Meeting

Sundry Petitions Read Viz^t

About a place for the Grainery

About m^r Peleg Wiswalls Sallary

About m^r Edward Mills Sallary

m^r Sam^{ll} Oakes Petition

m^r Jerā [Jeremiah] Condys Petition

The Selectmens Report of Sundry things left to them

Voted to Chuse 4 Representatives

The Number of Voters were - - 192

	votes.
Elisha Cooke Esq ^r	188
m ^r Thomas Cushing -	190
m ^r Ezek ^{ll} Lewis -	190
m ^r Sam ^{ll} Welles -	184

Chose Representatives

Voted To Chuse a Committee to Prepare Instructions for the Representatives for their Acting at the General Court at their Approching Session, And to Lay them befor the Meeting in the Afternoon —

Voted: That John Alford Esq^r mes^{rs} Henry Dering & Nath^{ll} Cunningham be the Said Committee —

On the Petition of Sundry Inhabitants about the Situatian of the Grainery

Voted That m^r Moderator & the Selectmen be Joyned with the Committee appointed for Building the Grainery, Be desired to View the Place, And make Return of their Opinion thereof to the Meeting after Dinner this Day —

m^r John Jeffers Excus'd }
 m^r Thomas Moffat Excus'd } Chosen Assessors.

Edward Maycomb - Sworn }
 John Spooner - - Sworn }
 Nathan^{ll} Cobbit - Sworn } Clerks of the Market.

Post Meridiem.

Voted That the Grainery be Erected and Set up Rainging with the Line of the Burying place on the Comon fronting Eastward, The Said Building to be not Less then [than] forty feet distant from the Sout[h] Corner of the Brick wall of the Burying place —

m^r James Pemberton - Pay }
 m^r James Watson - Sworn } Assessors.

In as much as the Gramer School at the North End of the Town of which m^r Peleg Wiswall is the Master is much Increased in the Number of the Schollers, and that no Usher is alowed to assist him in his School :

Voted That there be an Additian of Forty Pounds to the Said m^r Wiswalls Salary —

Sam^{ll} Oakes Petition Read & Dismist —

stating the subjects to be discussed.

Holding of public offices was regarded as a duty rather than a privilege, and service was obligatory unless a good excuse could be offered.

Pay = paid his fine for refusing to serve.

A "gramer school" was a Latin school.

In Answer to m^r Edward Mills His Petition.

Voted That there be an Addition of Twenty Pounds to the Said m^r Edward Mills Sallary —

Crooked.
Upon A Motion made by Elisha Cook Esq^r That the Dividing Line between the Towns Land in the Occupation of m^r Nathan^{ll} Williams and His Land on the East Side in School Street is for want of due Care become Crucked, intrenching both upon the One and the Others Land, That therfore they would Direct and Imp[o]wer the Selectmen to Rectifie that line as to them Seems Just and Equitable — And Further That they would be pleased to Accomodate him with about two feet of the Front of his Land next m^r Williams on Such Terms as the Selectmen Shall Agree for with the Said m^r Cooke —

Read and Voted That it be left with the Selectmen to Act therein as they Judge Meet —

On the Petition of m^r Jeram^m Cond^y for Addition to his Salary

Writing schools were lower schools. The New England school committees sprang out of these special visiting committees.

Voted that the Consideration of Said Petition be Referred for further Consideration to the Next Town Meeting, and That in the mean time Nathan^{ll} Green John Alford Esq^{rs} & m^r Thomas Cushing Jun^r are desired to Inspect the Several Wrighting Schools within this Town at Such time as they Shall think Advisable for the year Currant, And that they do in an Espesial Mañer Vizit m^r Condys School and Report to the Town at their Meeting the Ability and Industry of the Said m^r Cond^y and the Proficiency of the Schollers under His Tuition —

The Comittee this day chosen & Appointed to Prepare Instructions for the Representatives, for their Acting at the General Court at their Approching Session And to Lay [them] before the Meeting in the afternoon — Return as Follows : Viz^t

To Elisha Cooke Esq^r Mess^{rs} Thomas Cushing, Ezekiel Lewis & Samuel Welles : —

Gentlemen —

Your known Loyalty to His Present Majesty King George, and Sincear Atachment to the Successian in the Illustrious House of Hannover, Your Hearty Love to this Your native Country, Your Singuler Value for the Liberty & Propperty of this People, your Clearfull and Una[ni]mous Concurrence to promote our Best Intrist, And your Approved Integrity in those Publick Stations wherein you haue bin Employed, Haue fixed the Eyes of this Town on and Determined their Choice of you as Propper Persons to Represent them in the Next General Assembly Wherin they Expect That you behaue your Selves with your Wonted Zeal and Courage in Prossecuting those good Designes which may tend to the Peace & wellfairy of these His Majestys Good Subjects, and Secure those Rights and Priviledges which by the Royal Charter we haue a Just claim to, and as Englishmen do of Right appertain to us, And agreeable there unto we Recomend unto you in an Especial Manner — .

That you Endeavor to Maintain all our Civil Rights & Propertys against any Incrochments upon them

That you Continue to Pay a due Regard to His Excellency Our Governor, and that you Endeavor that He may have an Honourable Support, But we desire at the Same time That you use your utmost Endeavor That the Honourable House of Representatives may not be by any means Prevailed upon or brought into the Fixing a Certain Sallary for any Certain time, But that they may Improve their usual freedom in granting their Money from time to time, as they Shall Judg the Province to be able, and in Such a manner as they Shall think most for the Benefit and advantage thereof, And if your Pay Should be diverted you may Depend on all the Justice Imaginable from this Town whom you Represent :—

JOHN ALFORD
HENRY DERING
NATH^{ll} CUNINGHAM } Comittee

Such instructions were a usual function of town-meetings.

Interest.

Compare this with No. 50, above.

The Foregoing Return of the Comitte was Presended[-ted]
Read Sundry times and
Voted Approved.

The Report of the Selectmen upon Several Votes of the Town at their Meeting the 10th of March 1728: were Read & Considered Viz^t

The Selectmen haue Viewed the Marsh at the Bottom of the Comon, and not finding any Material use that can be made of it at the present, and Considering the Present Circumstances of the Town Are of Opinion it is best to ly in the Condition it now is.

Read and the Report Accepted— . . .

As to the Proposals About Bennet Street— It is thought Convenient to be Paved if the Town thinke it Convenient to Raise Money for the Doing it at this Meeting.

Read, and Refer'd for further Consideration to the Next March Meeting . . .

As to the Repair of the Wharf at the North Battery—

It is thought Convenient — That m^r Sam^{ll} Clark be Ordered to Clear the Wharf And that the Town let it to Some Person that may Offer to Repair it And keep it in Repair for A term of years as the Selectmen Shall think Advisable

Read and Voted to be left with the Selectmen— . . .

Voted That a Survey'd Plan be taken by Some Skillfull Surveyor or Survey[o]rs of the Lands of this Town belonging to the Town. In Order for the Same to be putt upon the Towns Records, to Prevent Incroachments on the Towns Int[e]rest.

The Selectmen to take Care that this work be effected—

Voted That the Sum of Three Hundred Pounds be Raised on the Inhabitants and Estates within this Town for Defraying the Towns Charge and more Espetialy Paving—

Boston Record Commissioners, *Report, 1729-1742* (Boston, 1885),
6-9 *passim*.

CHAPTER IX—THE REVOLUTION

53. The Boston Tea-Party (1773)

FINE moderat Weather continued, till this morning [Dec. 19, 1773] som snow & cold & raw with frost.

Note. The body of the people of Boston and numbers from the neighbouring Towns have lately mett at the Old South Meeting house (Faneuil Hall, not being so large as to contain the people) Supos'd to be from 5 to 6,000, and having Several meetings, conserning a Large quantity of Tea shipt'd from London by the East India Company Subject to a Duty payable in America. This meeting was adjourned to the P. m. and after finding all methods failed, with those men to whom the Tea was consigned, to send it back from whence it came, dissolved their meeting. But Behold what followed. A number of Resolute men in less than 3, some say 2 hours time, Em[p]tied Every Chest of Tea, on Board the 3 Ships Commanded by Captains Hall, Bruce & Coffin, into the Sea, amounting to 342 Chests without the least damage to the Ships, or other property. This Tea was worth 'tis said at least 25,000. £ sterling, as a great deal of it was green Tea. It was all distroyed, with as little noise as perhaps anything of the like nature was ever don in the Evening and all over & quiet by 8 O'Clock .

William Tudor, editor, *Deacon Tudor's Diary* (Boston, 1896),
44-45.

By DEACON
JOHN
TUDOR
(about
1709-1795),
a Boston
merchant,
whose diary
comprises
memoranda
covering the
years 1732-
1793. His
notes are
especially
valuable,
since many
of the im-
portant
events of the
period were
either wit-
nessed or
participated
in by the
deacon or
his son.—
For Tudor,
see *Contem-
poraries*, II,
No. 151.—
For the Bos-
ton Tea-
Party, see
*Contem-
poraries*, II, ch.
xxiv.—For
causes of the
Revolution,
see *Am. Hist.
Studies*, No.
4; *Contem-*

poraries, II, Part VI. The "Tea-Party" took place December 16; the real issue was whether a tax should be collected by English authority in America.

By
REVEREND
JOHN
WITHER-
SPOON,
(1722-1794),
president of
Princeton
College,
member of the
Continental Con-
gress, of the
Board of
War, and
signer of the
Declaration
of Inde-
pendence.
From his
arrival in the
country in
1768 he was
one of the
most tireless
workers in
the Ameri-
can cause,
and he was
very useful
in bringing
over many
Scotch Irish
and Scotch
to his side.
The piece is
a good ex-
ample of the
more moder-
ate patriotic
arguments.—
For causes of
the Revolu-
tion, see
Contempora-
ries, II, Part
VI.

By the
Boston Port
Bill of 1774.

54. "Conduct of the British Ministry" (1775)

. . . **E**VERY one knows that when the claims of the British Parliament were openly made, and violently enforced, the most precise and determined resolutions were entered into, and published by every colony, every county, and almost every township or smaller district, that they would not submit to them. This was clearly expressed in the greatest part of them, and ought to be understood as the implied sense of them all, not only that they would not *soon* or *easily*, but that they would *never* on *any event*, submit to them. For my own part, I confess, I would never have signed these resolves at first, nor taken up arms in consequence of them afterwards, if I had not been fully convinced, as I am still, that acquiescence in this usurped power, would be followed by the total and absolute ruin of the colonies. They would have been no better than tributary states to a kingdom at a great distance from them. They would have been therefore, as has been the case with all states in a similar situation from the beginning of the world, the servants of servants from generation to generation. For this reason I declare it to have been my meaning, and I know it was the meaning of thousands more, that though we earnestly wished for reconciliation with safety to our liberties, yet we did deliberately prefer, not only the horrors of a civil war, not only the danger of anarchy, and the uncertainty of a new settlement, but even extermination itself to slavery, riveted on us and our posterity.

The most peaceable means were first used; but no relaxation could be obtained: one arbitrary and oppressive act followed after another; they destroyed the property of a whole capital—subverted to its very foundation, the constitution and government of a whole colony, and granted the

soldiers a liberty of *murdering* in all the colonies. I express it thus, because they were not to be called to account for it where it was committed, which every body must allow was a temporary, and undoubtedly in ninety-nine cases of an hundred must have issued in a total impunity. There is one circumstance however in my opinion, much more curious than all the rest. The reader will say, What can this be? It is the following, which I beg may be particularly attended to: — While all this was a doing, the King in his speeches, the Parliament in their acts, and the people of Great Britain in their addresses, never failed to [to] extol their own lenity. I do not infer from this, that the King, Parliament and people of Great Britain are all barbarians and savages — the inference is unnecessary and unjust: But I infer the misery of the people of America, if they must submit *in all cases whatsoever*, to the decisions of a body of the sons of Adam, so distant from them, and who have an interest in oppressing them. It has been my opinion from the beginning, that we did not carry our reasoning fully home, when we complained of an arbitrary prince, or of the insolence, cruelty and obstinacy of Lord North, Lord Bute, or Lord Mansfield. What we have to fear, and what we have now to grapple with, is the ignorance, prejudice, partiality and injustice of human nature. Neither king nor ministry, could have done, nor durst have attempted what we have seen, if they had not had the nation on their side. The friends of America in England are few in number, and contemptible in influence; nor must I omit, that even of these few, not one, till very lately, ever reasoned the American cause upon its proper principles, or viewed it in its proper light.

Petitions on petitions have been presented to king and Parliament, and an address sent to the people of Great Britain, which have been not merely fruitless, but treated with the highest degree of disdain. The conduct of the British ministry during the whole of this contest, as has been

This was a common but most unfair criticism of an act transferring trials of certain cases to England.

Parliament ministers; North became prime minister.

By the First Continental Congress, 1774, and the Second Continental Congress, 1775.

often observed, has been such, as to irritate the whole people of this continent to the highest degree, and unite them together by the firm bond of necessity and common interest. In this respect they have served us in the most essential manner. I am firmly persuaded, that had the wisest heads in America met together to contrive what measures the ministry should follow to strengthen the American opposition and defeat their own designs, they could not have fallen upon a plan so effectual, as that which has been steadily pursued. One instance I cannot help mentioning, because it was both of more importance, and less to be expected than any other. When a majority of the New-York Assembly, to their eternal infamy, attempted to break the union of the colonies, by refusing to approve the proceedings of the Congress, and applying to Parliament by separate petition — because they presumed to make mention of the principal grievance of taxation, it was treated with inefable contempt. I desire it may be observed, that all those who are called the friends of America in Parliament, pleaded strongly for receiving the New-York petition; which plainly shewed, that neither the one nor the other understood the state of affairs in America. Had the ministry been prudent, or the opposition successful, we had been ruined; but with what transport did every friend to American liberty hear, that these traitors to the common cause, had met with the reception which they deserved.

Nothing is more manifest, than that the people of Great-Britain, and even the king and ministry, have been hitherto exceedingly ignorant of the state of things in America. For this reason, their measures have been ridiculous in the highest degree, and the issue disgraceful. . . .

John Witherspoon, *On the Controversy about Independence*, in his *Miscellaneous Works* (Philadelphia, 1803), 205–208.

This policy
was recom-
mended by
Governor
Tryon, Octo-
ber 27, 1775.

55. Undeniable Supremacy of Parliament
(1775)

By
REVEREND
ANDREW
BURNABY
(1732-1812),
a clergy-
man of the
Church of
England who
travelled in
the colonies
in 1759-60.
He carefully
observed
and noted
not only the
character
and customs
of the people
and the as-
pect of the
country, but
also political
and social
movements
and tendencies.
The
extract is
selected as a
temperate
statement of
the English
side of the
controversy.
— For Bur-
naby, see
*Contem-
poraries*, II, No.
32.— For
Tory views,
see *Contem-
poraries*, II,
Nos. 138, 156.

THE present unhappy differences subsisting among us, with regard to America, will, I am sensible, expose the publication of this account to much censure and criticism; but I can truly aver, that I have been led to it, by no party motive whatsoever. My first attachment, as it is natural, is to my native country; my next is to America; and such is my affection for both, that I hope nothing will ever happen to dissolve that union, which is so necessary to their common happiness. Let every Englishman and American, but for a moment or two, substitute[-te] themselves in each other's place, and, I think, a mode of reconciliation will soon take effect.— Every American will then perceive the reasonableness, of acknowledging the supremacy of the British legislature; and every Englishman perhaps, the hardship of being taxed where there is no representation, or assent.

There is scarcely any such thing, I believe, as a perfect government, and solecisms are to be found in all. The present disputes are seemingly the result of one.— Nothing can be more undeniable than the supremacy of parliament over the most distant branches of the British empire: for although the king being esteemed, in the eye of the law, the original proprietor of all the lands in the kingdom; all lands, upon defect of heirs to succeed to an inheritance, escheat to the king; and all new discovered lands vest in him: yet in neither case can he exempt them from the jurisdiction of the legislature of the kingdom.

He may grant them, under leases or charters, to individuals or companies; with liberty of making rules and regulations for the internal government and improvement of them; but such regulations must ever be consistent with the laws of the kingdom, and subject to their controul.

This was
really a new
doctrine:
the colonial
charters had
all been
granted by
the crown,
and acts of
Parliament
applied only
to general
trade.

The colonists held not only that they were not represented in Parliament, but that they could not be represented, owing to the distance.

On the other hand, I am extremely dubious, whether it be consistent with the general principles of liberty (with those of the British constitution, I think, it is not), to tax where there is no representation : the arguments hitherto adduced from Manchester and Birmingham, and other great towns, not having representatives, are foreign to the subject ; at least they are by no means equal to it ; — for every inhabitant, possessed of forty shillings freehold, has a vote in the election of members for the county : but it is not the persons, but the property of men that is taxed, and there is not a foot of property in this kingdom, that is not represented.

It appears then, that certain principles exist in the British constitution, which militate with each other ; the reason of their doing so is evident ; it was never supposed that they would extend beyond the limits of Great Britain, or affect so distant a country as America. It is much to be wished, therefore, that some expedient could be thought of, to reconcile them.

The conduct of the several administrations, that have had the direction of the affairs of this kingdom, has been reciprocally arraigned ; but, I think, without reason ; for, all things considered, an impartial and dispassionate mind, will find many excuses to allege in justification of each. — The fewest, I am afraid, are to be pleaded in favour of the Americans, for they settled in America under charters, which expressly reserved to the British Parliament the authority, whether consistent or not consistent, now asserted. Although, therefore, they had a right to make humble representations to his majesty in parliament, and to shew the impropriety and inconvenience of inflicting such principles, yet they had certainly no right to oppose them.

By long-established custom these powers of Parliament had not been exercised.

Expedients may still be found, it is to be hoped however, to conciliate the present unhappy differences, and restore harmony again between Great Britain and her colonies ; but whatever measures may be adopted by parliament, I am sure,

it is the duty and interest of America to submit.— But it is impertinent to enter any further into the discussion of a subject, which is at this time under the deliberation of the most august assembly in the world. I will, therefore, conclude with a sincere prayer, that whatever measures may be adopted, they may be different in their issue, from what the fears of men generally lead them to preconceive ; and that, if they be coercive ones, they may be inforced, which, I am persuaded, is practicable, without the effusion of a single drop of blood : if lenient ones, which are preferable, and which I think equally practicable, without any loss or diminution of the dignity or interest of this kingdom.

Andrew Burnaby, *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North-America, in the Years 1759 and 1760* (London, 1775), Introduction, v-viii.

56. “The American Patriot’s Prayer” (1776)

PARENT of all, omnipotent
In heav’n, and earth below,
Thro’ all creation’s bounds unspent,
Whose streams of goodness flow.

Teach me to know from whence I rose,
And unto what design’d ;
No private aims let me propose,
Since link’d with human kind.

But chief to hear my country’s voice,
May all my thoughts incline,
’T is reason’s law, ’t is virtue’s choice,
’T is nature’s call and thine.

ANONYMOUS. Formerly ascribed to Thomas Paine, though the best recent authority has rejected that view on the basis of internal evidence. The poem is one of the best bits of American patriotic verse of the times, and is historical material in its evidence of a profound patriotism.— For other specimens of

patriotic
verse, see
Contemporaries, II, Nos.
159, 164, 171,
196.—For
the condi-
tions of the
Revolution,
see *Contem-
poraries*, II,
Part VII.

“Laad’s,”
misprint for
“land’s.”

Me from fair freedom’s sacred cause,
Let nothing e’er divide ;
Grandeur, nor gold, nor vain applause,
Nor friendship false misguide.

Let me not faction’s partial hate
Pursue to *this laad*’s woe ;
Nor grasp the thunder of the state,
To wound a private foe.

If, for the right, to wish the wrong
My country shall combine,
Single to serve th’ erron’ous throng,
Spight of themselves, be mine.

Thomas Paine, *Large Additions to Common Sense*, appended to
his *Common Sense* (Philadelphia, 1776), 80.

By REVER-
END WILL-
IAM EMER-
SON (1743-
1776), a Con-
cord clergym-
an, grandfa-
ther of
Ralph Waldo
Emerson. At
the outbreak
of the Revo-
lution he
joined the
continental
army as
chaplain, and
lost his life
in the Ticon-
deroga expedi-
tion. His
story is one
of the best
illustrations

57. Battle of Lexington and Concord (1775)

[1775, April] 19. THIS Morn^g betw 1 & 2 o’Clock we
w^r [were] alarm’d by y^e ring of
y^e Bell — & upon Exam[ination] fou[nd] y^t y^e Troops, to
y^e N^o of 800, had stole y^t March from Boston in Boats &
Barg’ [barges] from y^e Bottom of y^e Common over to a
Point in Cambridge, near to Inman’s Farm, & were at Lex-
ington Meeting House, half an Hour before Sunrise, where
they had fired upon a Body of our Men, & (as we afterv^d
heard) had killed several. This Intelligence was bro’t us at
fst [first] by Dr Sam^{ll} Prescott, who narrowly escap’d y^e

Guard y^t were sent before on Horses, purposely to prevent all Posts & Messengers from giving us timely Information. He, by y^e Help of a very fleet Horse crossing several Walls and Fences, arriv'd at Concord at y^e Time abovemen^d [abovementioned]. When several Posts w^r immed[iately] dispatch'd, that return^g confirm'd y^e Account of y^e Regulars Arrival at Lexington, & that they were on their Way to Concord. Upon this a N^o of our Minitute [Minute] Men belong^g to y^s [this] Town, & Acton & Lyncoln, with several others y^t were in Readiness, march'd [o]ut to meet them: While y^e alarm Company w^r preparing to receive them in y^e Town.—Cap^t Minot who command[ed] y^m tho't it proper to take Possess[ion] of y^e Hill above y^e Meeting house as y^e most advan[tageous] Situa[tion]. No sooner had y^e gain'd [it] than we were met by y^e Companies y^t were sent out to meet y^e Troops, who inform'd us, y^t [they] were just upon us, & that we must retreat, as their N^o was more than threble to ours.—We then retreat'd fr[om] y^e Hill near [the] Liberty Pole & took a new Post back of y^e Town, upon a rising Eminince, w[h]ere we form'd into two Battalions, & waited y^e Arrival of y^e Enemy. Scarcely had we form'd, before we saw y^e brittish Troops, at y^e Dista[nce] of a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Mile, glittering in Arms, advancing towards [us] with y^e greatest Celerity. Some were for making a Stand, notw[ithstanding] y^e Super[iority] of y^r N^o but others more prudent tho't best to retreat till our Stren[g]th sh^d be equal to y^e Enemy's by Recruits from neigh^g [neighboring] Town's y^t were contin[ually] com^g in to our Assistance Accordingly we retreat^d over y^e Bridge, when y^e Troops came into y^e Town,—set fire to several Carriages for y^e Artillery, destroy'd 60 Barrels of Flour, rifleled sev[eral] Houses — took Possession of y^e Townhouse, destroy'd 500 lb of Ball[s] set a Guard of 100 Men at y^e N Bridge, & S* sent up a Party to y^e Hou[se] of Col^o Barrett, w[h]ere they were in Expec-ta[tion] of finding a Quan[tity] of warlike Stores ; but these

in this volume of the effectiveness of a narrative written in the heat of conflict.—For another account of Lexington and Concord, see *Contemporaries*, II, No. 191.—For the first stage of the war, see *Contemporaries*, II, ch. xxxi.

"Inman's Farm," present site of Inman Square, Cambridge-port.

*Thus in original.

were happily secur'd just before their Arrival, by Transpor-[tation] into y^e Wood' & other by-Places.— In y^e mean Time, the Guard set by [y]^e Enemy to secure y^e Pass at y^e N. Bridge, were alarm[ed] by y^e Approa[ch] of our People, who had retreated as men' [mentioned] before, & w^t now advancing, with spec[ial] Ord' [orders] not to not to* fire upon y^e Troops, unless fir'd upon.— These Orders were so punctually observ'd y^t we rec'd y^e Fire of y^e Enemy in 3 several & seperate Discharges of their Peices, before it was return'd, by our command[ing] Officer; the firing then soon becā [became] general for sev[eral] min' [minutes], in w^{ch} Skirmish two w^t kill^d on each Side, & sev[eral] of y^e Enemy wounded:— It may here be obs^d [observed] by y^e Way, y^t we were y^e more cau[tious] to prevent begin[beginning] a Rupture wth y^e K' [King's] Troops, as we w^t then uncert[ain] what had happ[ened] at Lexington, & knew [not?] y^t they had begun y^e Quarrell there by fst firing upon our pp [people] & killing 8 Men upon y^e Spot.— The 3 Compa' [companies of] Troops soon quitted their Post at y^e Bridge, & retreat^d in g^test [greatest] Disord^d & Confu[sion] to y^e main Body, who were soon upon y^e March to meet them.— For half an hour y^e Enemy by y^t Marches & counter Marches discov^d g^t Feekelessness [great fickleness] & Inconstancy of Mind, sometimes advancing sometimes returning to y^t former Posts, till at Len[g]th they quitted y^e Town, & retreated by y^e Wa[y] yy [they] came. In y^e Mean Time, a Party of our Men, (150) took y^e back Wa[y] thro' y^e g^t Fields into y^e E. q^r [east quarter] & had plac'd 'ems' [themselves] to advantage, laying in Ambush, behind Walls Fences & Buildings, r[eady] to fire upon y^e Enemy, on their Retreat

From a facsimile copy of the original manuscript, appended to James Lyman Whitney, *The Literature of the Nineteenth of April* (Concord, 1876).

* These words are repeated in the original.

"And fired the shot heard round the world."

58. Drafting the Declaration of Independence (1776)

By DELEGATE JOHN ADAMS (1735-1826), successively school-master, lawyer, public man, member of the Continental Congress, ambassador, Vice-President, and President. He made the best possible use of the excellent opportunities for observation which he had during his long period of public life. This piece was written in 1822.— For other extracts from Adams, see *Contemporaries*, II, Nos. 24, 79, 153, 189, 217.— For the Declaration of Independence, see *Contemporaries*, II, ch. xxx.

YOU inquire why so young a man as Mr. Jefferson was placed at the head of the Committee for preparing a Declaration of Independence? I answer; It was the Frankfort advice, to place Virginia at the head of every thing. Mr. Richard Henry Lee might be gone to Virginia, to his sick family, for aught I know, but that was not the reason of Mr. Jefferson's appointment. There were three committees appointed at the same time. One for the Declaration of Independence, another for preparing articles of Confederation, and another for preparing a treaty to be proposed to France. Mr. Lee was chosen for the Committee of Confederation, and it was not thought convenient that the same person should be upon both. Mr. Jefferson came into Congress, in June, 1775, and brought with him a reputation for literature, science, and a happy talent of composition. Writings of his were handed about, remarkable for the peculiar felicity of expression. Though a silent member in Congress, he was so prompt, frank, explicit, and decisive upon committees and in conversation, not even Samuel Adams was more so, that he soon seized upon my heart; and upon this occasion I gave him my vote, and did all in my power to procure the votes of others. I think he had one more vote than any other, and that placed him at the head of the committee. I had the next highest number, and that placed me the second. The committee met, discussed the subject, and then appointed Mr. Jefferson and me to make the draught, I suppose because we were the two first on the list.

The sub-committee met. Jefferson proposed to me to make the draught. I said, "I will not." "You should do it." "Oh! no." "Why will you not? You ought to do

The "Frankfort advice" refers to an interview between the Massachusetts delegation to the Continental Congress of 1774 and a

delegation from the Philadelphia Sons of Liberty. The meeting was held August 29, 1774, at Frankfort, a town situated five miles from Philadelphia.

Of Jefferson's writings, his *Summary View of the Rights of British America*, originally planned to serve merely as a set of instructions to the Virginia delegates to the Continental Congress, was chiefly instrumental in giving him a reputation among the members of the convention.

Roger Sherman of Connecticut.

it." "I will not." "Why?" "Reasons enough." "What can be your reasons?" "Reason first—You are a Virginian, and a Virginian ought to appear at the head of this business. Reason second—I am obnoxious, suspected, and unpopular. You are very much otherwise. Reason third—You can write ten times better than I can." "Well," said Jefferson, "if you are decided, I will do as well as I can." "Very well. When you have drawn it up, we will have a meeting."

A meeting we accordingly had, and conned the paper over. I was delighted with its high tone and the flights of oratory with which it abounded, especially that concerning negro slavery, which, though I knew his Southern brethren would never suffer to pass in Congress, I certainly never would oppose. There were other expressions which I would not have inserted, if I had drawn it up, particularly that which called the King tyrant. I thought this too personal; for I never believed George to be a tyrant in disposition and in nature; I always believed him to be deceived by his courtiers on both sides of the Atlantic, and in his official capacity only, cruel. I thought the expression too passionate, and too much like scolding, for so grave and solemn a document; but as Franklin and Sherman were to inspect it afterwards, I thought it would not become me to strike it out. I consented to report it, and do not now remember that I made or suggested a single alteration.

We reported it to the committee of five. It was read, and I do not remember that Franklin or Sherman criticized any thing. We were all in haste. Congress was impatient, and the instrument was reported, as I believe, in Jefferson's handwriting, as he first drew it. Congress cut off about a quarter of it, as I expected they would; but they obliterated some of the best of it, and left all that was exceptionable, if any thing in it was. I have long wondered that the original draught has not been published. I suppose the reason is, the vehement philippic against negro slavery.

As you justly observe, there is not an idea in it but what had been hackneyed in Congress for two years before. The substance of it is contained in the declaration of rights and the violation of those rights, in the Journals of Congress, in 1774. Indeed, the essence of it is contained in a pamphlet, voted and printed by the town of Boston, before the first Congress met, composed by James Otis, as I suppose, in one of his lucid intervals, and pruned and polished by Samuel Adams.

*The Rights
of the British
Colonies
Asserted and
Proved
(1764).*

John Adams, *Works* (edited by Charles Francis Adams, Boston, 1850), II, 513-514.



59. Report of the Battle of Princeton (1777)

I HAVE the honor to inform you, that, since the date of my last from Trenton, I have removed with the army under my command to this place. The difficulty of crossing the Delaware, on account of the ice, made our passage over it tedious, and gave the enemy an opportunity of drawing in their several cantonments, and assembling their whole force at Princeton. Their large pickets advanced towards Trenton, their great preparations, and some intelligence I had received, added to their knowledge, that the 1st of January brought on a dissolution of the best part of our army, gave me the strongest reasons to conclude, that an attack upon us was meditating.

Our situation was most critical, and our force small. . . . On the 2d [of January, 1777], according to my expectation, the enemy began to advance upon us; and, after some skirmishing, the head of their column reached Trenton about four o'clock, whilst their rear was as far back as Maidenhead. They attempted to pass Sanpink Creek, which

By GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON. This is from an official report sent by the commander-in-chief to the president of Congress shortly after the battle; it is a type of military reports, which are more comprehensive than personal narratives. — For Washington, see above, No. 39.—For the period, see *Contemporaries*, II, ch. xxxi.

The terms of service of the militia would

expire January 1, 1777.

Sanpink =
Assunpink.

runs through Trenton, at different places; but, finding the forts guarded, they halted, and kindled their fires. We were drawn up on the other side of the creek. In this situation we remained till dark, cannonading the enemy, and receiving the fire of their field-pieces, which did us but little damage.

The British commander.

Having by this time discovered, that the enemy were greatly superior in number, and that their design was to surround us, I ordered all our baggage to be removed silently to Burlington soon after dark; and at twelve o'clock after renewing our fires, and leaving guards at the bridge in Trenton, and other passes on the same stream above, marched by a roundabout road to Princeton, where I knew they could not have much force left, and might have stores. One thing I was certain of, that it would avoid the appearance of a retreat (which was of consequence, or to run the hazard of the whole army being cut off), whilst we might by a fortunate stroke withdraw General Howe from Trenton, and give some reputation to our arms. Happily we succeeded. We found Princeton about sunrise, with only three regiments and three troops of light-horse in it, two of which were on their march to Trenton. These three regiments, especially the two first, made a gallant resistance, and, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, must have lost five hundred men; upwards of one hundred of them were left dead on the field; and, with what I have with me and what were taken in the pursuit and carried across the Delaware, there are near three hundred prisoners, fourteen of whom are officers, all British. . . .

. . . We took two brass field-pieces; but, for want of horses, could not bring them away. We also took some blankets, shoes, and a few other trifling articles, burned the hay, and destroyed such other things, as the shortness of the time would admit of. . . .

. . . The militia are taking spirits, and, I am told, are

coming in fast from this State [New Jersey]; but I fear those from Philadelphia will scarcely submit to the hardships of a winter campaign much longer, especially as they very unluckily sent their blankets with their baggage to Burlington. I must do them the justice however to add, that they have undergone more fatigue and hardship, than I expected militia, especially citizens, would have done at this inclement season. I am just moving to Morristown, where I shall endeavor to put them under the best cover I can. Hitherto we have been without any; and many of our poor soldiers quite barefoot, and ill clad in other respects. . . .

George Washington, *Writings* (edited by Worthington Chauncy Ford, New York, etc., 1890), V, 146-151 *passim*.



60. A Southern Lady's Experience of War (1780)

WHILE the officers were there discoursing, word was brought that a party of the enemy were at a neighboring plantation, not above two miles off, carrying provisions away. In an instant the men were under arms, formed and marched away to the place. We were dreadfully alarmed at the first information, but, upon seeing with what eagerness our friends marched off, and what high spirits they were in, we were more composed, but again relapsed into our fears when we heard the discharge of fire-arms; they did not stay out long; but returned with seven prisoners, four whites and three blacks. When they came to the door, we looked out, and saw two of M'Girth's men with them, who had used us so ill; my heart relented at sight of them, and I could not forbear looking at them with an eye of pity. Ah! thought I, how fickle is fortune! but

By ELIZA WILKINSON, a young and beautiful widow, at the time of the Revolution living on her father's estate in South Carolina. Her narrative has the charm of the personal element and of local color.—For another picture of Revolutionary events and conditions by a feminine hand, see *Contemporaries*, II, No. 192.—On the campaign in the South,

see *Contemporaries*, II,
ch. xxxiv.

Daniel McGirth, a South Carolina hunter and trapper, who had acted as scout to the American army, till a flogging given him for some offence caused him to go over to the 'Tories. A short time before the events here recorded his men had ridden up to the home of the Wilkinsons, but had refrained from frightening or plundering the inmates, as a band of British troops had done shortly before.

two days ago these poor wretches were riding about as if they had nothing to fear, and terrifying the weak and helpless by their appearance ; now, what a humbled appearance do they make ! But, basely as they have acted in taking up arms against their country, they have still some small sense left that they were once Americans, but now no longer so, for all who act as they do, forfeit that name ; and by adopting the vices of those they join, become one with them ; but these poor creatures seem to have yet remaining some token of what they once were — else why did they, last Thursday, behave so much better to us than the Britons did, when we were equally as much in their power as we were in the others' ? I will let them see I have not forgot it. I arose, and went out to them. "I am sorry, my friends, (I could not help calling them *friends* when they were in our power,) to see you in this situation, you treated us with respect ; and I cannot but be sorry to see you in distress." "It is the fortune of war, Madam, and soldiers must expect it." "Well, you need not make yourselves uneasy ; I hope Americans won't treat their prisoners ill. Do, my friends, (to the soldiers) use these men well — they were friendly to us." "Yes, Madam," said they ; "they shall be used well if it was only for that." I asked if they would have any thing to drink. Yes, they would be glad of some water. I had some got, and as their hands were tied, I held the glass to their mouths ; they bowed, and were very thankful for it. I was so busy, I did not observe the officers in the house ; several of them were at the door and window, smiling at me, which, when I perceived, I went in and told them how it was. They promised that the men should be favored for their behavior to us. "Madam," said one, "you would make a bad soldier ; however, if I was of the other party, and taken prisoner, I should like to fall into your hands." I smiled a reply, and the conversation took another turn. . . .

A detachment of two or three hundred men, commanded

by Col. Malmady, were ordered on Father's Island ; they had a field-piece with them, and there they staid some time to command the river, which prevented the poor red coats from taking their accustomed airings. When they had been there a day or two, a company of horsemen rode up to the house we were in, and told us the General was coming along, and would be there presently ; they had scarcely spoken, when three or four officers appeared in view. They rode up ; (Colonel Roberts was with them, he and Father were old acquaintances.) He introduced one of the officers to Father. "General Lincoln, Sir !" Mother was at the door. She turned to us, "O girls, Gen. Lincoln !" — We flew to the door, joy in our countenances ! for we had heard such a character of the General, that we wanted to see him much. When he quitted his horse, and I saw him limp along, I can't describe my feelings. The thought that his limping was occasioned by defending his country from the invasion of a cruel and unjust enemy, created in me the utmost veneration and tender concern for him. You never saw Gen. Lincoln, Mary ? — I think he has something exceeding grave, and even solemn, in his aspect ; not *forbiddingly* so neither, but a something in his countenance that commands respect, and strikes *assurance* dumb. He did not stay above an hour or two with us, and then proceeded on to camp.

That night, two or three hundred men quartered at the plantation we were at. As many of the officers as could, slept in the hall, (the house being very small, and only intended for an overseer's house). We wanted to have beds made for them. No, they would not have them on any account, — "beds were not for soldiers, the floor or the earth served them as well as anywhere else." "And now," said Major Moore, "I'll show you how soon a soldier's bed is made," and, taking his surtout, spread it on the floor — "There," said he, "I assure you I sleep as well on that hard lodging as ever I slept on a feather-bed." — "You may say

General
Benjamin
Lincoln.

On account
of the depre-
dations of
the British,
the family
had been
compelled to
leave their
home and
take refuge
on another
plantation.

what you please, Major," (said Miss Samuells,) "but I'm sure a soldier's life is a life of hardships and sorrows." "Indeed, Madam, I think it the best life in the world ; it's what I delight in." "I wish all soldiers delighted in it at this juncture," (said I,) "because every thing they hold dear is at stake, and demands their presence and support in the field."

Eliza Wilkinson, *Letters . . . during the Invasion and Possession of Charlestown, S.C. by the British in the Revolutionary War* (edited by Caroline Gilman, New York, 1839), 62-78 *passim*.

By CAPTAIN
GEORG
PAUSCH
(1740-1796),
Hessian
officer, chief
of the Hesse-
Hanau artil-
lery in the
Burgoyne
campaign.
His journal
is one of the
most valua-
ble accounts
that we have
of the Ger-
mans in the
Revolution.
Naturally he
was some-
what preju-
diced against
the rival Brit-
ish troops.
The follow-
ing is an ex-
tract from his
description
of the battle
of Freeman's
Farm,
October 7,
1777.—

61. Hard Fighting at Saratoga (1777)

MEANWHILE, work was still progressing on the entrenchments of our two wings ; and it took, by the way, $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour to march from one wing of our army to the other ; during which march, not the least sign of the enemy was seen, nor were we molested by him in the least. Presently, by order of Major Williams of the English Artillery, the two 12 pound cannon were brought up and placed in front of the above named house, and after being made ready, they were loaded. No one knew what all these arrangements meant ; but I shortly afterward learned from Capt. Gen. Quarter-Master Gerlach, that it was intended to make a diversion at this point ; and that the corps was for the protection of the general staff. At the same time, word was sent into the entrenchments of Breymann and Fraser, and the foragers ordered to cut down the corn-stalks yet standing in our rear. (This is called "foraging.") An English officer now arrived in haste, saying that there were no cannon on the flank of the left wing, and that I must immediately send one of mine. Against this I protested,

on the ground that I had but two cannon, and in case of complying with his wish I should only be able to serve one gun ; that I desired, if it was a general order to march there either with both of the cannon or to give up neither—one cannon being no command for a subaltern, to say nothing of a captain ; and finally, that they had four 6 pound cannon of their own, of which one had but just gone past the left wing. The officer at this made himself scarce and brought no other order ; and I remained at the post which I had myself chosen and occupied.

After the lapse of half an hour we noticed a few patrols in the woods, and on the height to the left of the wood ; and, at the same moment, the above mentioned two 12 pounders opened fire.

Shortly after this, a large number of the enemy's advance-guard, who were in the bushes, engaged our Yägers, Chasseurs, and Volunteers. The action extended all along the front, the enemy appearing in force. During this time, and while both sides were thus contending, and I was serving my cannon, there marched out of the enemy's entrenchment on their left wing, at a "double quick" and in squares, two strong columns, one towards our right, and the other towards our left wing ; while, at the same moment, additional forces of the enemy poured down in troops to reinforce those who were already engaged with us, and advanced madly and blindly in the face of a furious fire. The attack began on the left wing with a terrific musketry fire, but, in a few minutes, the enemy repulsed it ; while the cannon, sent there by the English Artillery, was captured by the enemy before a single shot had been fired from them. And now, the firing from cannon and small arms began to get very brisk on our right wing.

At this junction, our left wing retreated in the greatest possible disorder, thereby causing a similar rout among our German command, which was stationed behind the fence in

For the Hessians, see
Contemporaries, II, ch.
xxix.—For
the cam-
paign, see
Contemporaries, II, No.
197.

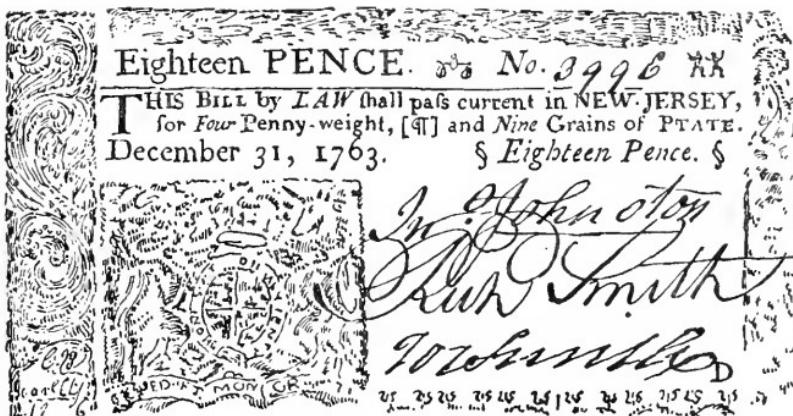
Yägers =
light infantry
chosen
chiefly from
foresters.

line of battle. They retreated — or to speak more plainly — they left their position without informing me, although I was but fifty paces in advance of them. Each man for himself, they made for the bushes. . . . In the mean time, on our right wing, there was stubborn fighting on both sides, our rear, meanwhile, being covered by a dense forest, which, just before had protected our right flank. The road by which we were to retreat lay through the woods and was already in the hands of the enemy, who accordingly intercepted us. Finding myself, therefore, finally in my first mentioned position — alone, isolated, and almost surrounded by the enemy, and with no way open but the one leading to the house where the two 12 pound cannon stood, dismounted and deserted — I had no alternative but to make my way along it with great difficulty . . .

. . . I presently came across a little earth-work, 18 feet long by 5 feet high. This I at once made use of by posting my two cannon, one on the right, and the other on the left, and began a fire alternately with balls and with shells, without, however, being able to discriminate in favor of our men who were in the bushes ; for the enemy, without troubling them, charged savagely upon my cannon, hoping to dismount and silence them. . . .

A brave English Lieutenant of Artillery, by the name of Schmidt and a sergeant were the only two who were willing to serve the cannon longer. He came to me and asked me to let him have ten artillery-men and one subaltern from my detachment to serve these cannon. But it was impossible for me to grant his request, no matter how well disposed I might have been towards it. Two of my men had been shot dead ; three or four were wounded ; a number had straggled off, and all the Infantry detailed for that purpose, either gone to the devil or run away. Moreover, all I had left, for the serving of each cannon, were four or five men and one subaltern. . . .

William P.
Smith, a
lieutenant,
later colonel
in the Royal
Artillery.



Specimen of Colonial paper currency. 1763. PLATE is for PLATE, i.e. silver bullion.



Specimen of Continental paper currency. 1776. TRIBULATIO DITAT means Trouble enriches.

. . . Seeing that all was irretrievably lost, and that it was impossible to save anything, I called to my few remaining men to save themselves. I myself, took refuge through [behind] a fence, in a piece of dense underbrush on the right of the road, with the last [remaining] ammunition wagon, which, with the help of a gunner, I saved with the horses. Here I met all the different nationalities of our division running pell-mell — among them Capt. Schoel, with whom there was not a single man left of the Hanau Regiment. In this confused retreat, all made for our camp and our lines. The entrenchment of Breymann was furiously assailed ; the camp in it set on fire and burned, and all the baggage-horses and baggage captured by the enemy. The three 6 pound cannon of my brigade of Artillery were also taken, the artillery-men, Wachler and Fintzell, killed, and artillery-man Wall (under whose command were the cannon) severely, and others slightly, wounded. The enemy occupied this entrenchment, and remained in it during the night. . . .

Commander
of the Ger-
man Light
Brigade.

By Arnold.

Captain [Georg] Pausch, *Journal* (translated by William L. Stone, Albany, 1886), 165-172 *passim*.

62. The Baneful Influence of Paper Money (1777)

NOV. 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th [1777]. — These 4 days the fleet [has been] coming up in great numbers. Some part of the army have marched over Schuylkill, and reports are prevalent that the main part of the army will soon move off. The Americans are moving off their heavy cannon. Gen'l Washington, it is said, is going to Virginia in a few weeks, and the command [is] to devolve upon Gen'l Gates. Great exertions are

By ROBERT MORTON (1760-1786), son of a Philadelphia merchant. During the British occupation of Philadelphia, Morton, a boy of about seventeen, kept a diary, showing powers of observation and facility

of expression
remarkable
for so young
a man. His
account is
very trust-
worthy and
throws much
light on the
relations be-
tween the
British and the
inhabitants during
the occupa-
tion. — For
finances in
the Revolu-
tion, see *Contem-
poraries*,
II, ch. xxxiii.

"Legal paper
currency" =
not conti-
nental but
State notes.

i.e. to sup-
port paper
money.

making, both by the men and women of this city, to sup-
port the credit of the paper money legally issued. The
women are determined to purchase no goods with hard
money. Some of those who agreed to receive paper money
have refused it for their goods, and among the rest some
of our Society [of Friends].

Dec. 1st, 2nd, 3rd. — Numbers of the Fleet [are] daily
arriving. None of the large ships have yet come up. A
contest has subsisted in this City since the arrival of the
fleet, concerning the legal Paper Currency. The English
merchants that came in the fleet will not dispose of their
goods without hard money, alleging that no bills are to be
bought, no produce to be obtained, and no method can be
adopted by which they can send remittances. Numbers
of the most respectable inhabitants are using all their in-
fluence to support it, and numbers of others who have no
regard for the public good, are giving out the hard money
for what they want for immediate use, thus purchasing
momentary gratifications at the expense of the Public, for
if the circulation of this money should be stopt, many who
have no legal money but paper, and have no means of
obtaining gold and silver, will be reduced to beggary and
want, and those who are so lost to every sense of honor, to
the happiness of their fellow citizens, and eventually their
own good, as to give out their hard money, either for the
goods of those who are newcomers, or in the public market
where it is now exacted for provisions, will, by their evil
example, oblige those who possess hard money, to advance
it and ruin the credit of the other money for the present.
The consequence of which must be that we shall be shortly
drained of our hard cash, the other money rendered useless,
no trade by which we can get a fresh supply, our ruin must
therefore be certain and inevitable. This depreciation of
the Paper Currency will not only extend its baneful influence
over this City, but over all the continent, as the friends of

government and others have been collecting this legal tender for several mo's [months] past, expecting that in those places in the possession of the British Army it will be of equal value with gold and silver. But from the enemies of the British constitution among ourselves, who give out their hard money for goods, from the almost universal preference of private interest to the public good, and from a deficiency of public virtue, it is highly probable the paper money will fall, and those newcomers having extracted all our hard money, will leave us in a situation not long to survive our Ruin. . . .

i.e. friends of royal government.

Diary of Robert Morton, in Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (Philadelphia, 1877), I, 31-33.

63. A Ballad on Cornwallis (1781)

WHEN British troops first landed here,
With Howe commander o'er them,
They thought they'd make us quake for fear,
And carry all before them ;
With thirty thousand men or more,
And she without assistance,
America must needs give o'er,
And make no more resistance.

But Washington, her glorious son,
Of British hosts the terror,
Soon, by repeated overthrows,
Convinc'd them of their error ;
Let Princeton, and let Trenton tell,
What gallant deeds he's done, sir,
And Monmouth's plains where hundreds fell,
And thousands more have run, sir.

ANONYMOUS. This is one among a number of songs composed to commemorate Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown. It was published soon after that event and sung to the air of "Maggie Lauder," at that time very popular in both armies.—For Yorktown, see *Contemporaries*, II, ch. xxxiv.

Cornwallis, too, when he approach'd
 Virginia's old dominion,
 Thought he would soon her conqu'r'or be ;
 And so was North's opinion.
 From State to State with rapid stride,
 His troops had march'd before, sir,
 Till quite elate with martial pride,
 He thought all dangers o'er, sir.

The mastery
 of the seas,
 held for a
 short time by
 France, pre-
 vented the
 British from
 entering the
 Chesapeake
 to relieve
 Cornwallis.
 — See *Contem-
 poraries*,
 II, Nos. 199,
 213.

But our allies, to his surprise,
 The Chesapeake had enter'd ;
 And now too late, he curs'd his fate,
 And wish'd he ne'er had ventur'd,
 For Washington no sooner knew
 The visit he had paid her,
 Than to his parent State he flew,
 To crush the bold invader.

When he sat down before the town,
 His Lordship soon surrender'd ;
 His martial pride he laid aside,
 And cas'd the British standard ;
 Gods ! how this stroke will North provoke,
 And all his thoughts confuse, sir !
 And how the Peers will hang their ears,
 When first they hear the news, sir.

Be peace, the glorious end of war,
 By this event effected ;
 And be the name of Washington,
 To latest times respected ;
 Then let us toast America,
 And France in union with her ;
 And may Great Britain rue the day
 Her hostile bands came hither.

On the
 peace, see
*Contem-
 poraries*, II, ch.
 xxxv.

CHAPTER X—THE CONFEDERATION AND THE CONSTITUTION

64. What is an American? (1782)

I WISH I could be acquainted with the feelings and thoughts which must agitate the heart and present themselves to the mind of an enlightened Englishman, when he first lands on this continent [America]. . . . Here he sees the industry of his native country displayed in a new manner Here he beholds fair cities, substantial villages, extensive fields, an immense country filled with decent houses, good roads, orchards, meadows, and bridges, where an hundred years ago all was wild, woody and uncultivated! He is arrived on a new continent; a modern society offers itself to his contemplation, different from what he had hitherto seen. It is not composed, as in Europe, of great lords who possess every thing, and of a herd of people who have nothing. Here are no aristocratical families, no courts, no kings, no bishops, no ecclesiastical dominion, no invisible power giving to a few a very visible one; no great manufacturers employing thousands, no great refinements of luxury. The rich and the poor are not so far removed from each other as they are in Europe. Some few towns excepted, we are all tillers of the earth, from Nova Scotia to West Florida. We are a people of cultivators, scattered over an immense territory, communicating with each other by means of good roads and navigable rivers, united by the silken bands of mild government, all respecting the laws, without dreading their power, because they are equitable. We are all animated with the

By J. HECTOR ST. JOHN DE CRÈVE-CŒUR (1731-1809 or 1813), a native of Normandy, land cultivator in New York, later French consul in New York City. His *Letters from an American Farmer* occasioned a large French immigration to Ohio. His laudations of America were perhaps a little over-drawn.—On American culture in 1782, see *Contemporaries*, III, ch. i.

Crèvecoeur overestimates the goodness of the roads.

spirit of an industry which is unfettered and unrestrained, because each person works for himself. . . . A pleasing uniformity of decent competence appears throughout our habitations. The meanest of our log-houses is a dry and comfortable habitation. Lawyer or merchant are the fairest titles our towns afford ; that of a farmer is the only appellation of the rural inhabitants of our country. . . . Here man is free as he ought to be ; nor is this pleasing equality so transitory as many others are. Many ages will not see the shores of our great lakes replenished with inland nations, nor the unknown bounds of North America entirely peopled. Who can tell how far it extends ? Who can tell the millions of men whom it will feed and contain ? for no European foot has as yet travelled half the extent of this mighty continent !

Forty years later these shores had a large population.

The next wish of this traveller will be to know whence came all these people ? they are a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, and Swedes. From this promiscuous breed, that race now called Americans have arisen. . . .

. . . By what invisible power has this surprising metamorphosis been performed ? By that of the laws and that of their industry. The laws, the indulgent laws, protect them as they arrive, stamping on them the symbol of adoption ; they receive ample rewards for their labours ; these accumulated rewards procure them lands ; those lands confer on them the title of freemen, and to that title every benefit is affixed which men can possibly require. This is the great operation daily performed by our laws. From whence proceed these laws ? From our government. Whence that government ? It is derived from the original genius and strong desire of the people ratified and confirmed by the crown. This is the great chain which links us all, this is the picture which every province exhibits. . . .

. . . *He* is an American, who leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the

new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great *Alma Mater*. Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. Americans are the western pilgrims, who are carrying along with them that great mass of arts, sciences, vigour, and industry which began long since in the east ; they will finish the great circle. The Americans were once scattered all over Europe ; here they are incorporated into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared, and which will hereafter become distinct by the power of the different climates they inhabit. The American ought therefore to love this country much better than that wherein either he or his forefathers were born. Here the rewards of his industry follow with equal steps the progress of his labour ; his labour is founded on the basis of nature, *self-interest* ; can it want a stronger allurement ? Wives and children, who before in vain demanded of him a morsel of bread, now, fat and frolicksome, gladly help their father to clear those fields whence exuberant crops are to arise to feed and to clothe them all ; without any part being claimed, either by a despotic prince, a rich abbot, or a mighty lord. Here religion demands but little of him ; a small voluntary salary to the minister, and gratitude to God ; can he refuse these ? The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles ; he must therefore entertain new ideas, and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury, and useless labour, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence.—This is an American.

J. Hector St. John [de Crèvecoeur], *Letters from an American Farmer* (London, 1782), 45–53 *passim*.

65. Life in Congress (1783)

By JUDGE BENJAMIN HUNTINGTON (1736-1800), a Connecticut public man and jurist, member of the Continental Congress and later of the first Congress under the Constitution. His letters to his wife, from New York, Princeton, and Philadelphia, throw much light on the life of the members and their surroundings.—For Huntington, see *Contemporaries*, II, No. 163.—For the Continental Congress, see *Contemporaries*, II, Nos. 141, 153, 155, 185, 189, 190, 200, 219; III.

"Dutch Minister," i.e. an envoy from Holland.

The "New Jersey musquitos" were famous from the earliest history of the province.

PRINCETON Sept^r 8th 1783

DEAR MRS HUNTINGTON

Since my Last Nothing Material has hapned a Dutch Minister is Dayly Expected to arrive in Philadelphia and it was Rumoured that Some of his furniture was arrived last Week This must be a Wonderful great Affair and what Congress can Do with this Great Personage in Princeton is more than Humane Wisdom can Divise [devise] for there are not Buildings Sufficient to House more Dons [gentlemen] nor . . . Indeed as many as are Already here Some are under Necessity to Go to Philadelphia once or Twice a fortnight to Breath in Polite Air. The Country so badly agrees with those Sublime & Delicate Constitutions that it is to be feared that many of them will Contract a Rusticity that Can never be wholly Purged off We have nothing here but the Necessaries and Comforts of Life and who can live so? The Agreeables of the City cannot be had in the Country I Expect no Business of Importance will be Done untill Congress Returns to that Sweet Paridice [paradise] from which they hastily took Flight in June last Since which Time an Awkward Rustication has been their Painful Situation on an Eminence in the Country where they have no Musquitoes to Serenade them in bed and in the Day they have a Prospect of no more than 30 or 40 Miles to the High Lands on [or] the Sea Coast nor can they hear the musick of Carts and Waggons on the Pavements in the City nor See the motly Crowd of Beings in those Streets. This must be Truely Distressing to Gentlemen of Taste—The Ladies make less Complaint than the Gentlemen and the Gentlemen who have their Ladies here seem in some Degree Contented. The President of Congress who Belongs in the Jersy is obliged to leave his Lady in Philadelphia to Keep Possession but has the Promise of a Very Genteel House

nere if he will take it but not Knowing whether Congress will abide in Princetown or not, he is at the utmost Loss what to Do, Whether it is best for him and his wife to live together as Peasants do in the Country or for her to be at Philad^a as the Ladies do, and for him to Live as a Gentleman Doing Business in the Country in hopes of Retiring to the Pleasures and amusements of the City when Business is over this Matter Requiring Great Deliberation Cannot (like the Emigration of Congress in June last) be hastily Determined Thus you See we Great Folks are not without Trouble. I hope to become a small man in a few Weeks and Retire from the Embarrassments of Dignity to the Plain & Peaceful Possessions of a Private Life not Desiring to Live without Business but to do useful Business without ye Pangs & Vanity of this Wicked World

All I have Wrote is not what I Designed when I began & Consequently have not yet advanced one Step toward any Design and having nothing to Write About am at a Great Loss what to Write because it Requires more Strength of Genius to Build on Hansom [an handsome] Fabrick without Materials than with—I am Spending Money very fast but not so fast as I Could with the Same Degree of Industery in Philadelphia & it is a Mortifying Consideration that my Cash is Spent for no better Purposes, but the Great & General Concerns of a Nation must [be] attended to and the Fashions & Customs of the World are Such as Require it to be Done with Expence — A new Fashion is among the Ladies here which is the Same as at Philad^a The Roll is much less than formerly and is Raised to a Peak on their Forehead Frowzled and Powdered and they wear Men's Beaver Hats with a Large Tye of Gauze like a Sash or Mourning Wead [weed] about the Crown & Decorated with Feathers & Plumes on the Top which makes a very Daring Appearance The Brim of the Hat is Loped before about as low as their Eyes and is a Kind of Riding Hat They Walk Abroad and Sit in Church in the Same. Some have

The president of Congress was Elias Boudinot; he was a man of large means.

Congress sat at Princeton because it had been assaulted by mutineers at Philadelphia in June, 1783.

On the fashions of the time, see *Contemporaries*, II, ch. xii; III, ch. i.

them in the Same Figure made of Paper and Covered with Silk with Deep Crowns as a Beaver Hat but as this is much out of the Line of Business I was sent here to do I have not been very Particular on the Subject I might also mention the Waistcoat and Long Sleaves much like the Riding habits our Ladies wore Twenty five years ago but as they Differ some from them & having no Right to be very Much in Observation upon the Ladies I am not able to say Much on the Subject

Give my love in Particular to Every Child in our Family & Regards to Friends & Neighbors

I am Dear Spouse
your Most Affectionate

BENJ HUNTINGTON

MRS ANNE HUNTINGTON

W. D. McCrackan, editor, *The Huntington Letters* (New York, 1897), 56-61.

No. 66 is
by JEAN
PIERRE
BRISSOT DE
WARVILLE
(1754-1793),
a famous
French Re-
publican.
In 1788 he
founded a
society of
"Friends of
the Blacks,"
and in the
commission
of this body
came to
America to
inquire into
the condition
of the negro.
He partici-
pated in the

66. The West (1788)

I HAVE not the time, my friend, to describe to you the new country of the West; which, though at present unknown to the Europeans, must, from the nature of things, very soon merit the attention of every commercial and manufacturing nation. I shall lay before you at present only a general view of these astonishing settlements, and refer to another time the details which a speculative philosopher may be able to draw from them. At the foot of the Alleghanies, whose summits, however, do not threaten the heavens, like those of the Andes and the Alps, begins an immense plain, intersected with hills of a gentle ascent, and watered every where with streams of all sizes; the soil

is from three to seven feet deep, and of an astonishing fertility : it is proper for every kind of culture, and it multiplies cattle almost without the care of man.

It is there that those establishments are formed, whose prosperity attracts so many emigrants ; such as Kentucky, Frankland, Cumberland, Holston, Muskingum, and Scioto.

The oldest and most flourishing of these is Kentucky, which began in 1775, had eight thousand inhabitants in 1782, fifty thousand in 1787, and seventy thousand in 1790. It will soon be a State.

Cumberland, situated in the neighbourhood of Kentucky, contains 8000 inhabitants, Holston 5000, and Frankland 25,000. . . .

There is nothing to fear, that the danger from the savages will ever arrest the ardour of the Americans for extending their settlements. They all expect that the navigation of the Mississippi becoming free, will soon open to them the markets of the islands, and the Spanish colonies, for the productions with which their country overflows. But the question to be solved is, whether the Spaniards will open this navigation willingly, or whether the Americans will force it. A kind of negociation has been carried on, without effect for four years ; and it is supposed, that certain States, fearing to lose their inhabitants by emigration to the West, have, in concert with the Spanish minister, opposed it . . .

. . . a number of reasons determine me to believe, that the present union will for ever subsist. A great part of the property of the Western land belongs to people of the East ; the unceasing emigrations serve perpetually to strengthen their connexions ; and as it is for the interest both of the East and West, to open an extensive commerce with South-America, and to overleap the Mississippi ; they must, and will, remain united for the accomplishment of this object.

The Western inhabitants are convinced that this navigation cannot remain a long time closed. They are deter-

Revolution and became leader of the Girondists. Brissot was a sympathetic observer of American conditions and institutions.—

For early Western settlements, see *Contemporaries*, II, chs. xx, xxii; III.

Frankland, or Franklin, now eastern Tennessee.

Spain, by holding New Orleans, controlled the mouth of the Mississippi.

Through bounty lands and land companies.

mined to open it by good will or by force ; and it would not be in the power of Congress to moderate their ardour. Men who have shook off the yoke of Great-Britain, and who are masters of the Ohio and the Mississippi, cannot conceive that the insolence of a handful of Spaniards can think of shutting rivers and seas against a hundred thousand free Americans. The slightest quarrel will be sufficient to throw them into a flame ; and if ever the Americans shall march towards New Orleans, it will infallibly fall into their hands. . . .

This prediction was justified in 1803.

Ecuador.

I transport myself sometimes in imagination to the succeeding century. I see this whole extent of continent, from Canada to Quito, covered with cultivated fields, little villages, and country houses. I see Happiness and Industry, smiling side by side, Beauty adorning the daughter of Nature, Liberty and Morals rendering almost useless the coercion of Government and Laws, and gentle Tolerance taking place of the ferocious Inquisition. I see Mexicans, Peruvians, men of the United States, Frenchmen, and Canadians, embracing each other, cursing tyrants, and blessing the reign of Liberty, which leads to universal harmony. But the mines, the slaves, what is to become of them ? The mines will be closed, and the slaves will become the brothers of their masters. . . .

Not fulfilled entirely till the emancipation in Brazil, in 1888.

Our speculators in Europe are far from imagining that two revolutions are preparing on this continent, which will totally overturn the ideas and the commerce of the old : the opening a canal of communication between the two oceans, and abandoning the mines of Peru. Let the imagination of the philosopher contemplate the consequences. They cannot but be happy for the human race.

J. P. Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America. Performed in 1788* (translated, London, 1792), 474-483 *passim*.

67. The Inner History of the Northwest Ordinance (1787)

FRIDAY, July 20 [1787]. This morning the Secretary of Congress furnished me with the Ordinance of yesterday, which states the conditions of a contract, but on terms to which I shall by no means accede. Informed the Committee of Congress that I could not contract on the terms proposed; should prefer purchasing lands of some of the States, who would give incomparably better terms, and therefore proposed to leave the City immediately. They appeared to be very sorry no better terms were offered, and insisted on my not thinking of leaving Congress until another attempt was made. I told them I saw no prospect of a contract, and wished to spend no more time and money on a business so unpromising. They assured me I had many friends in Congress who would make every exertion in my favor; that it was an object of great magnitude, and [I] must not expect to accomplish it in less than two or three months. If I desired it, they would take the matter up that day on different ground, and did not doubt they should still obtain terms agreeably to my wishes. . . .

Monday, July 23. My friends had made every exertion in private conversation to bring over my opposers in Congress. In order to get at some of them, so as to work powerfully on their minds, [we] were obliged to engage three or four persons before we could get at them. In some instances we engaged one person, who engaged a second, and he a third, and so on to a fourth, before we could effect our purpose. In these maneuvers I am much beholden to the assistance of Colonel Duer and Major Sargent.

The matter was taken up this morning in Congress, and warmly debated until 3 o'clock, when another ordinance

By
REVEREND
MANASSEH
CUTLER
(1742-1823),
a New Eng-
land clergym-
an who
served as a
chaplain in
the conti-
nental army.
He later be-
came inter-
ested in the
formation of
the Ohio
Company, of
which he was
made agent.
He drafted
for Nathan
Dane the
famous ordi-
nance ex-
cluding slav-
ery from the
Northwest
Territory,
and furnish-
ing a model
for the
colonial gov-
ernments of
the United
States. The
piece is also
an illustration
of the diffi-
culties of
business in
the Congress
of the Con-
federation.—
On the Ordi-
nance, see
Contempora-
ries, III.

Temple was
British
consul.

was obtained. This was not to the minds of my friends, who were now considerably increased in Congress . . .

Thursday, July 26. . . . Dined with Sir John Temple. Several gentlemen in company. Immediately after dining took my leave and called on Dr. Holton. He told me that Congress had been warmly engaged on our business the whole day ; that the opposition was lessened, but our friends did not think it prudent to come to a vote, lest there should not be a majority in favor. I felt much discouraged, and told the Doctor I thought it in vain to wait longer, and should certainly leave the city the next day. He cried out on my impatience, said if I obtained my purpose in a month from that time I should be far more expeditious than was common in getting much smaller matters through Congress ; that it was of great magnitude, for it far exceeded any private contract ever made before in the United States ; that if I should fail now, I ought still to pursue the matter, for I should most certainly finally obtain the object I wished. To comfort me he assured me that it was impossible for him to conceive by what kind of address I had so soon and so warmly engaged the attention of Congress, for since he had been a member of that body he assured me on his honor he never knew so much attention paid to any one person who made application to them on any kind of business, nor did he ever know them more pressing to bring it to a close. He could not have supposed that any three men from New England, even of the first character, could have accomplished so much in so short a time. This, I believe, was mere flattery, though it was delivered with a very serious air, but it gave me some consolation. I now learned very nearly who were for and who were against the terms. Bingham is come over, but Few and Kearney are stubborn. Unfortunately there are only eight states represented, and unless seven of them are in favor no ordinance can pass. Every moment of this evening until two o'clock was busily employed. A warm seige

was laid on Few and Kearney from different quarters, and if the point is not effectually carried the attack is to be renewed in the morning. Duer, Sargent, and myself have also agreed, if we fail, that Sargent shall go on to Maryland, which is not at present represented, and prevail on the members to come on, and to interest them, if possible, in our plan. I am to go on to Connecticut and Rhode Island, to solicit the members from these states to go on to New York, and to lay an anchor to the windward with them. As soon as those states are represented Sargent is to renew the application, and I have promised Duer, if it be found necessary, I will then come on to New York again.

Friday, July 27. I rose very early this morning, and, after adjusting my baggage for my return, for I was determined to leave New York this day, I set out on a general morning visit, and paid my respects to all the members of Congress in the city, and informed them of my intention to leave the city that day. My expectations of obtaining a contract, I told them, were nearly at an end. I should, however, wait the decision of Congress, and if the terms we had stated, and which I conceived to be exceedingly advantageous to Congress, considering the circumstances of that country, were not acceded to, we must turn our attention to some other part of the country. New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts would sell us lands at half a dollar, and give us exclusive privileges beyond what we had asked of Congress. . . . These and such like were the arguments I urged. They seemed to be fully acceded to, but whether they will avail is very uncertain. Mr. R. H. Lee assured me he was prepared for one hour's speech, and he hoped for success. All urged me not to leave the city so soon; but I assumed the air of perfect indifference, and persisted in my determination, which had apparently the effect I wished. Passing the City Hall as the members were going in to Congress, Colonel Carrington told me he believed Few was

secured, that little Kearney was left alone, and that he determined to make one trial of what he could do in Congress. Called at Sir John Temple's for letters to Boston ; bid my friends good-by ; and, as it was my last day, Mr. Henderson insisted on my dining with him and a number of his friends whom he had invited.

At half-past three, I was informed that an Ordinance had passed Congress on the terms stated in our letter, without the least variation, and that the Board of Treasury was directed to take Order and close the contract. . . .

Manasseh Cutler, *Life, Journals, and Correspondence* (edited by W. P. Cutler and Julia P. Cutler, Cincinnati, 1888), I, 294-305 *passim*.

By DELE-
GATE
GEORGE
MASON
(1725-1792),
fourth of the
name in a
celebrated
Virginia fam-
ily. Among
other things
he drew up
the Virginia
Resolutions
of 1769, and
in 1776
drafted the
Virginia
Declaration
of Rights.
He was a
member of
the Constitu-
tional Con-
vention, but
being very
democratic
and opposed
to extending
the powers of

68. Objections to the Constitution (1787)

THREE is no Declaration of Rights, and the laws of the general government being paramount to the laws and constitution of the several States, the Declarations of Rights in the separate States are no security. Nor are the people secured even in the enjoyment of the benefit of the common law.

In the House of Representatives there is not the substance but the shadow only of representation ; which can never produce proper information in the legislature, or inspire confidence in the people ; the laws will therefore be generally made by men little concerned in, and unacquainted with their effects and consequences.

The Senate have the power of altering all money bills, and of originating appropriations of money, and the salaries of the officers of their own appointment, in conjunction with the president of the United States, although they are not the representatives of the people or amenable to them.

These with their other great powers, viz.: their power in the appointment of ambassadors and all public officers, in making treaties, and in trying all impeachments, their influence upon and connection with the supreme Executive from these causes, their duration of office and their being a constantly existing body, almost continually sitting, joined with their being one complete branch of the legislature, will destroy any balance in the government, and enable them to accomplish what usurpations they please upon the rights and liberties of the people.

The Judiciary of the United States is so constructed and extended, as to absorb and destroy the judiciaries of the several States; thereby rendering law as tedious, intricate and expensive, and justice as unattainable, by a great part of the community, as in England, and enabling the rich to oppress and ruin the poor.

The President of the United States has no Constitutional Council, a thing unknown in any safe and regular government. He will therefore be unsupported by proper information and advice, and will generally be directed by minions and favorites; or he will become a tool to the Senate — or a Council of State will grow out of the principal officers of the great departments; the worst and most dangerous of all ingredients for such a Council in a free country. From this fatal defect has arisen the improper power of the Senate in the appointment of public officers, and the alarming dependence and connection between that branch of the legislature and the supreme Executive.

Hence also sprung that unnecessary officer the Vice-President, who for want of other employment is made president of the Senate, thereby dangerously blending the executive and legislative powers, besides always giving to some one of the States an unnecessary and unjust pre-eminence over the others.

The President of the United States has the unrestrained

the executive and legislative, he declined to sign the instrument framed. The extract is an example of numerous similar arguments. — For text of the Constitution, see *American History Leaflets*, No. 8. — For the Federal Convention, see *Am. Hist. Studies*, Nos. 5, 6; *Contemporaries*, III.

This objection has been disproved by experience.

Not well founded.

This has not come to pass.
The cabinet has not assumed this power.

The word dangerous, as applied to anything relating to the vice-presidential office,

causes a
smile at the
present day.

power of granting pardons for treason, which may be sometimes exercised to screen from punishment those whom he had secretly instigated to commit the crime, and thereby prevent a discovery of his own guilt.

By declaring all treaties supreme laws of the land, the Executive and the Senate have, in many cases, an exclusive power of legislation; which might have been avoided by proper distinctions with respect to treaties, and requiring the assent of the House of Representatives, where it could be done with safety.

The tariff
laws were
later a cause
of complaint
by the South.

By requiring only a majority to make all commercial and navigation laws, the five Southern States, whose produce and circumstances are totally different from that of the eight Northern and Eastern States, may be ruined, for such rigid and premature regulations may be made as will enable the merchants of the Northern and Eastern States not only to demand an exorbitant freight, but to monopolize the purchase of the commodities at their own price, for many years, to the great injury of the landed interest, and impoverishment of the people; and the danger is the greater as the gain on one side will be in proportion to the loss on the other. Whereas requiring two-thirds of the members present in both Houses would have produced mutual moderation, promoted the general interest, and removed an insuperable objection to the adoption of this government.

The "neces-
sary and
proper"
clause, ever
since much
disputed.

The lack of a
Bill of Rights
was a fre-
quent criti-
cism, and led
to the first
ten amend-
ments to the
Constitution.

Under their own construction of the general clause, at the end of the enumerated powers, the Congress may grant monopolies in trade and commerce, constitute new crimes, inflict unusual and severe punishments, and extend their powers as far as they shall think proper; so that the State legislatures have no security for the powers now presumed to remain to them, or the people for their rights.

There is no declaration of any kind, for preserving the liberty of the press, or the trial by jury in civil causes; nor against the danger of standing armies in time of peace.

The State legislatures are restrained from laying export duties on their own produce.

Both the general legislature and the State legislature are expressly prohibited making *ex post facto* laws; though there never was nor can be a legislature but must and will make such laws, when necessity and the public safety require them; which will hereafter be a breach of all the constitutions in the Union, and afford precedents for other innovations.

This government will set out a moderate aristocracy: it is at present impossible to foresee whether it will, in its operation, produce a monarchy, or a corrupt, tyrannical aristocracy; it will most probably vibrate some years between the two, and then terminate in the one or the other.

The general legislature is restrained from prohibiting the further importation of slaves for twenty odd years; though such importations render the United States weaker, more vulnerable, and less capable of defence.

Laws made after the offence is committed.

Slave-trade prohibited in 1808.

Draft of the original manuscript, in Kate Mason Rowland,
The Life of George Mason (New York, etc., 1892), II,
387-390.



69. The Political Harvest Time (1788)

HON. MR. SMITH. Mr. President, I am a plain man and get my living by the plough. I am not used to speak in publick, but I beg your leave to say a few words to my brother plough-joggers in this house. I have lived in a part of the country where I have known the worth of good government by the want of it. There was a black cloud that rose in the east last winter, and spread over the west. (*Here Mr. Widgery interrupted. Mr. President, I wish to know what the gentleman means by the east.*) I mean, sir,

By COLONEL JONATHAN B. SMITH, a member of the Massachusetts convention of 1788, which ratified the Constitution of the United States. His speech is a good example of the common-sense argu-

ment of the plain practical man in favor of a national constitution, besides being a remarkable piece of good English.—For the State ratifying conventions, see *Contemporaries*, III.

The Shays's
Rebellion of
1786-87.

the county of Bristol ; the cloud rose there and burst upon us, and produced a dreadful effect. It brought on a state of *anarchy*, and that leads to *tyranny*. I say it brought anarchy. People that used to live peaceably, and were before good neighbours, got distracted and took up arms against government. (*Here Mr. Kingsley called to order, and asked what had the history of last winter to do with the Constitution? Several gentlemen, and among the rest the Hon. Mr. Adams, said the gentleman was in order—let him go on in his own way.*) I am a going, Mr. President, to shew you, my brother farmers, what were the effects of anarchy, that you may see the reasons why I wish for good government. People, I say took up arms, and then if you went to speak to them, you had the *musket of death* presented to your breast. They would rob you of your property, threaten to burn your houses ; oblige you to be on your guard night and day ; alarms spread from town to town ; families were broke up ; the tender mother would cry, O my son is among them ! What shall I do for my child ! Some were taken captive, children taken out of their schools and carried away. Then we should hear of an *action*, and the poor prisoners were *set in the front*, to be killed by their own friends. How dreadful, how distressing was this ! Our distress was so great that we should have been glad to catch at any thing that looked like a government for protection. Had any person, that was able to protect us, come and set up his standard we should all have flocked to it, even if it had been a *monarch*, and that monarch might have proved a tyrant, so that you see that anarchy leads to tyranny, and better have *one* tyrant than so many at once.

Now, Mr. President, when I saw this Constitution, I found that it was a cure for these disorders. It was just such a thing as we wanted. I got a copy of it and read it over and over. I had been a member of the Convention to form our own state Constitution, and had learnt something of the

Adopted in
1780.

checks and balances of power, and I found them all here. I did not go to any lawyer, to ask his opinion, we have no lawyer in our town, and we do well enough without. I formed my own opinion, and was pleased with this Constitution. My honourable old daddy there (*pointing to Mr. Singletary*) won't think that I expect to be a Congress-man, and swallow up the liberties of the people. I never had any post, nor do I want one, and before I am done you will think that I don't deserve one. But I don't think the worse of the Constitution because lawyers, and men of learning and monied men, are fond of it. I don't suspect that they want to get into Congress and abuse their power. I am not of such a jealous make ; they that are honest men themselves are not apt to suspect other people. I don't know why our constituents have not as good a right to be as jealous of us, as we seem to be of the Congress, and I think those gentlemen who are so very suspicious, that as soon as a man gets into power he turns rogue, had better look *at home*.

We are by this Constitution allowed to send *ten* members to Congress. Have we not more than that number fit to go ? I dare say if we pick out ten, we shall have another ten left, and I hope ten times ten, and will not these be a check upon those that go ; Will they go to Congress and abuse their power and do mischief, when they know that they must return and look the other ten in the face, and be called to account for their conduct ? Some gentlemen think that our liberty and property is not safe in the hands of monied men, and men of learning, I am not of that mind.

Brother farmers, let us suppose a case now — suppose you had a farm of 50 acres, and your title was disputed, and there was a farm of 5000 acres joined to you that belonged to a man of learning, and his title was involved in the same difficulty ; would not you be glad to have him for your friend, rather than to stand alone in the dispute ? Well, the case is the same, these lawyers, these monied men, these men of

learning, are all embarked in the same cause with us, and we must all swim or sink together ; and shall we throw the Constitution over-board, because it does not please us alike? Suppose two or three of you had been at the pains to break up a piece of rough land, and sow it with wheat — would you let it lay waste, because you could not agree what *sort* of a fence to make? would it not be better to put up[up] a fence that did not please every one's fancy rather than not fence it at all, or keep disputing about it, until the wild beast came in and devoured it. Some gentlemen say, don't be in a hurry — take time to consider, and don't take a leap in the dark. — I say take things in time — gather fruit when it is ripe. There is a time to sow and a time to reap ; we sowed our seed when we sent men to the federal convention, now is the harvest, now is the time to reap the fruit of our labour, and if we don't do it now I am afraid we never shall have another opportunity.

Debates, Resolutions and other Proceedings, of the Convention of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1788 (reported by Benjamin Russell, Boston, 1788), 132–134.

By FRANCIS HOPKINSON (1737–1791), signer of the Declaration of Independence, one of the committee to draft the Articles of Confederation, member of the Continental Congress, and later judge in Pennsylvania. He was

70. “The New Roof” (1788)

“A SONG FOR FEDERAL MECHANICS.”

I.

COME muster, my lads, your mechanical tools,
 Your saws and your axes, your hammers and rules ;
 Bring your mallets and planes, your level and line,
 And plenty of pins of American pine :
For our roof we will raise, and our song still shall be,
Our government firm, and our citizens free.

II.

COME, up with *the plates*, lay them firm on the wall,
 Like the people at large, they're the ground work of all ;
 Examine them well, and see that they're sound,
 Let no rotten part in our building be found :
For our roof we will raise, and our song still shall be
A government firm, and our citizens free.

III.

Now hand up the *girders*, lay each in his place,
 Between them the *joists*, must divide all the space ;
 Like assemblymen *these* should lie level along,
 Like *girders*, our senate prove loyal and strong :
For our roof we will raise, and our song still shall be
A government firm over citizens free.

one of the earliest American humorists, and besides wrote much in prose and verse to favor the cause of independence. The phrase "New Roof" was popularly applied to the Constitution.—For Hopkinson, see *Contemporaries*, II, Nos. 96, 196.—For the going into effect of the Constitution, see *Contemporaries*, III.

IV.

THE *rafters* now frame ; your *king-posts* and *braces*,
 And drive your pins home, to keep all in their places ;
 Let wisdom and strength in the fabric combine,
 And your pins be all made of American pine :
For our roof we will raise, and our song still shall be,
A government firm over citizens free.

V.

OUR *king-posts* are *judges* ; how upright they stand,
 Supporting the *braces* ; the laws of the land :
 The laws of the land, which divide right from wrong,
 And strengthen the weak, by weak'ning the strong :
For our roof we will raise, and our song still shall be,
Laws equal and just, for a people that's free.

VI.

The exact date of the piece is in doubt, but the allusion to "States" marks it as written about the time of the Federal Convention.

UP ! up ! with the *rafters* ; each frame is a *state* :
 How nobly they rise ! their span, too, how great !
 From the north to the south, o'er the whole they extend,
 And rest on the walls, whilst the walls they defend :
*For our roof we will raise, and our song still shall be
 Combined in strength, yet as citizens free.*

VII.

Now enter the *purlins*, and drive your pins through ;
 And see that your joints are drawn home and all true.
 The *purlins* will bind all the rafters together :
 The strength of the whole shall defy wind and weather :
*For our roof we will raise, and our song still shall be,
 United as states, but as citizens free.*

VIII.

COME, raise up the *turret*; our glory and pride ;
 In the centre it stands, o'er the whole to *preside* :
 The sons of Columbia shall view with delight
 Its pillar's, and arches, and towering height :
*Our roof is now rais'd, and our song still shall be,
 A federal head o'er a people that's free.*

IX.

HUZZA ! my brave boys, our work is complete ;
 The world shall admire Columbia's fair seat ;
 Its strength against tempest and time shall be proof,
 And thousands shall come to dwell under our roof :
*Whilst we drain the deep bowl, our toast still shall be
 Our government firm, and our citizens free.*

Francis Hopkinson, *Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings* (Philadelphia, 1792), II, 320-322.

CHAPTER XI—MAKING A GOVERNMENT, 1789–1801

71. A Democratic View of Washington (1789–1790)

... THE President advanced between the Senate and Representatives, bowing to each. He was placed in the chair by the Vice-President; the Senate with their president on the right, the Speaker and the Representatives on his left. The Vice-President rose and addressed a short sentence to him. The import of it was that he should now take the oath of office as President. He seemed to have forgot half what he was to say, for he made a dead pause and stood for some time, to appearance, in a vacant mood. He finished with a formal bow, and the President was conducted out of the middle window into the gallery, and the oath was administered by the Chancellor. Notice that the business done was communicated to the crowd by proclamation, etc., who gave three cheers, and repeated it on the President's bowing to them.

As the company returned into the Senate chamber, the President took the chair and the Senators and Representatives their seats. He rose, and all arose also, and addressed them. This great man was agitated and embarrassed more than ever he was by the leveled cannon or pointed musket. He trembled, and several times could scarce make out to read, though it must be supposed he had often read it before. He put part of the fingers of his left hand into the side of what I think the tailors call the fall of the breeches, changing the paper into his left hand. After some time he then

By SENATOR WILLIAM MACLAY (1737–1804), senator from Pennsylvania in 1789–91. He had served both in the French and Indian and in the Revolutionary war. In Congress he was noted for extreme democratic views, and he soon became a leader of the opposition to Washington. His journal presents a graphic picture of the social and political life of the period, enlivened though somewhat distorted by the violent prejudices of the author. It is the only account that we have of the debates of the Senate during the First Congress,

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for it sat in secret session. This piece first describes Washington's inauguration, April 30, 1789.—On Washington, see above, Nos. 39, 59.—On the organization of the federal government, see *American Orations*, I, 75-143; *Contemporaries*, III, ch.

did the same with some of the fingers of his right hand. When he came to the words *all the world*, he made a flourish with his right hand, which left rather an ungainly impression. I sincerely, for my part, wished all set ceremony in the hands of the dancing-masters, and that this first of men had read off his address in the plainest manner, without ever taking his eyes from the paper, for I felt hurt that he was not first in everything. He was dressed in deep brown, with metal buttons, with an eagle on them, white stockings, a bag, and sword. . . .

[Aug. 27.] Senate adjourned early. At a little after four I called on Mr. Bassett, of the Delaware State. We went to the President's to dinner. . . . The President and Mrs. Washington sat opposite each other in the middle of the table; the two secretaries, one at each end. It was a great dinner, and the best of the kind I ever was at. The room, however, was disagreeably warm.

First was the soup; fish roasted and boiled; meats, gammon, fowls, etc. This was the dinner. The middle of the table was garnished in the usual tasty way, with small images, flowers (artificial), etc. The dessert was, first apple-pies, pudding, etc.; then iced creams, jellies, etc.; then watermelons, musk-melons, apples, peaches, nuts.

It was the most solemn dinner ever I sat at. Not a health drank; scarce a word said until the cloth was taken away. Then the President, filling a glass of wine, with great formality drank to the health of every individual by name round the table. Everybody imitated him, charged glasses, and such a buzz of "health, sir," and "health, madam," and "thank you, sir," and "thank you, madam," never had I heard before. Indeed, I had liked to have been thrown out in the hurry; but I got a little wine in my glass, and passed the ceremony. The ladies sat a good while, and the bottles passed about; but there was a dead silence almost. Mrs. Washington at last withdrew with the ladies.

A usual ceremony at that time.

I expected the men would now begin, but the same stillness remained. The President told of a New England clergyman who had lost a hat and wig in passing a river called the Brunks. He smiled, and everybody else laughed. He now and then said a sentence or two on some common subject, and what he said was not amiss. . . . The President kept a fork in his hand, when the cloth was taken away, I thought for the purpose of picking nuts. He ate no nuts, however, but played with the fork, striking on the edge of the table with it. We did not sit long after the ladies retired. The President rose, went up-stairs to drink coffee; the company followed. I took my hat and came home. . . .

This was levee day, and I accordingly dressed and did the needful. It is an idle thing, but what is the life of men but folly?—and this is perhaps as innocent as any of them, so far as respects the persons acting. The practice, however, considered as a feature of royalty, is certainly anti-republican. This certainly escapes nobody. The royalists glory in it as a point gained. Republicans are borne down by fashion and a fear of being charged with a want of respect to General Washington. If there is treason in the wish I retract it, but would to God this same General Washington were in heaven! We would not then have him brought forward as the constant cover to every unconstitutional and irrepublican act.

Dec. 14, 1790;
the Levee
was the
President's
public recep-
tion.

Even Wash-
ington did
not escape
calumny.

William Maclay, *Journal* (edited by Edgar S. Maclay, New York, 1890), 8-351 *passim*.



72. Speech on the Tariff (1789)

WHEN it was asked, What is the occasion of a high duty? it was answered, that it is necessary in order to come at the proper tax on rum; but I insist that there is

By FISHER AMES (1758-1808), a strong Federalist, for eight years a member of Congress

from Massachusetts.
This speech was made in a debate on what afterward became the first tariff act.
Massachusetts opposed the taxing of hemp, flax, and molasses, the two former being used for ship cordage, the latter as a "raw material" in the manufacture of New England rum.—
For Ames, see *American Orations*, I, 112 (another speech), 359.
—On the tariff discussion, see *American Orations*, III, IV; *Contemporaries*, III, IV; *American History Studies*, No. 11.

no such necessity, while an excise is within our reach ; and it is in this mode only that you can obtain any considerable revenue. The gentleman from Virginia has said that the manufacture of country rum is in no kind of danger from the duty on molasses. He has stated to the House the quantity made before the Revolution, and goes on to argue that as West India rum paid no duty, and molasses paid some, if the manufacture thrived under these disadvantages, why should it not continue to support itself in future? . . .

Mr. Speaker, we are not to consider molasses in the same light as if it were in the form of rum. We are not to tax a necessary of life in the same manner as we do a pernicious luxury. I am sensible an attempt to draw a critical line of distinction in this case, between what is necessary and what is a luxury, will be attended with some difficulty ; but I conceive the distinction sufficient for our present purpose, if it prove molasses to be necessary for the subsistence of the people. No decent family can do without something by way of sweetening ; whether this arises from custom or necessity of nature, is not worth the inquiry ; if it is admitted to be a requisite for the support of life, a tax on it will be the same as a tax on bread ; it is repugnant to the first principles of policy to lay taxes of this nature in America. What is it that entitles the United States to take rank of all the nations in Europe, but because it is the best country for the poor to live in? If we go on taxing such articles as salt and molasses, these advantages will not long continue to be ours. It may be said that sugar is also a necessary of life : true, but molasses, inasmuch as it is cheaper, can be more easily obtained, and enters more into consumption, at least of the poor. They apply it to various uses ; it is a substitute for malt, in making beer ; and shall it be said that the General Government descends to small beer for its revenue, while strong beer remains duty free? Why shall this difference be made between the common drink of one part of

the continent and the other, unless it be with a view to drive the people to drinking simple water? The gentleman from Virginia contends that the consumers of eight pounds of sugar pay more than those who use eight pounds of molasses; this may be true, but from the variety of ways in which molasses is used, eight pounds is sooner consumed than six or four pounds of sugar, which makes up the difference. But do gentlemen mean that the poorest and weakest part of the community shall pay as much for what they use as the richer classes? Is this the reward of their toil and industry? . . .

The question is plainly reducible to this: Shall we tax a necessary of life in the same proportion as a luxury? Gentlemen will not contend for either the justice or policy of such a measure; but they say the necessity of the case obliges them; they cannot come at the luxury but through the raw material. They say they cannot lay an excise. I ask, Why not? People may justly think it burdensome to raise all our supplies from impost. Much can be obtained from this source, to be sure, by touching every thing; but I would recommend touching such things as are essential to subsistence lightly, and bring in the excise as a means of obtaining the deficiency; it will be the more certain way of making country rum contribute its proportion. I am not against a duty in this shape; but if the hand of government is stretched out to oppress the various interests I have enumerated by an unequal and oppressive tax on the necessities of life, I fear we shall destroy the fond hopes entertained by our constituents that this government would insure their rights, extend their commerce, and protect their manufactures. Mothers will tell their children, when they solicit their daily and accustomed nutriment, that the new laws forbid them the use of it; and they will grow up in a detestation of the hand which proscribes their innocent food, and the occupation of their fathers; the language of

I.e. duty on
the manu-
facture of
spirits.

A curious bit
of uncon-
scious hu-
mor.

I.e. the occu-
pation of dis-
tilling rum.

complaint will circulate universally, and change the favorable opinion now entertained to dislike and clamor.

The House will not suppose we are actuated by local interests in opposing a measure big with such dangerous consequences to the existence of the Union. They will admit we have reason for persisting in our opposition to a high duty, and may be inclined to join us in reducing it either to five per cent or at most to one cent per gallon. If the apprehensions we have expressed shall be realized, let it rest upon the advocates of the present measure; we have done our duty, and it only remains for us to submit to that ruin in which the whole may be involved.

Fisher Ames, *Speeches* (edited by Pelham W. Ames, Boston, 1871), 13-18 *passim*.

By SECRETARY OF STATE
THOMAS JEFFERSON (1743-1826), later the third President of the United States. Alexander Hamilton was at this time Secretary of the Treasury. The enmity between the two men had not reached that acute stage which later would have made any compromise between them impossible. The issue was the assumption

73. A Question of Compromise (1790)

THIS measure [the assumption of State debts] produced the most bitter & angry contests ever known in Congress, before or since the union of the states. I arrived in the midst of it. But a stranger to the ground, a stranger to the actors on it, so long absent as to have lost all familiarity with the subject, and as yet unaware of its object, I took no concern in it. The great and trying question however was lost in the H. of Representatives. So high were the feuds excited by this subject, that on its rejection, business was suspended. Congress met and adjourned from day to day without doing any thing, the parties being too much out of temper to do business together. The Eastern members particularly, who, with Smith from South Carolina, were the principal gamblers in these scenes, threatened a secession and dissolution. Hamilton was in despair. As I was going to the President's one day, I met him in the street. He

walked me backwards & forwards before the President's door for half an hour. He painted pathetically the temper into which the legislature had been wrought, the disgust of those who were called the Creditor states, the danger of the secession of their members, and the separation of the states. He observed that the members of the administration ought to act in concert, that tho' this question was not of my department, yet a common duty should make it a common concern ; that the President was the center on which all administrative questions ultimately rested, and that all of us should rally around him, and support with joint efforts measures approved by him ; and that the question having been lost by a small majority only, it was probable that an appeal from me to the judgment and discretion of some of my friends might effect a change in the vote, and the machine of government, now suspended, might be again set into motion. I told him that I was really a stranger to the whole subject ; not having yet informed myself of the system of finances adopted, I knew not how far this was a necessary sequence ; that undoubtedly if it's rejection endangered a dissolution of our union at this incipient stage, I should deem that the most unfortunate of all consequences, to avert which all partial and temporary evils should be yielded. I proposed to him however to dine with me the next day, and I would invite another friend or two, bring them into conference together, and I thought it impossible that reasonable men, consulting together coolly, could fail, by some mutual sacrifices of opinion, to form a compromise which was to save the union. The discussion took place. I could take no part in it, but an exhortatory one, because I was a stranger to the circumstances which should govern it. But it was finally agreed that, whatever importance had been attached to the rejection of this proposition, the preservation of the union, & and of concord among the states was more important, and that therefore it would be better that the

of twenty millions of State debts, desired by Northern capitalists, and the fixing of the Capital on the Potomac, desired by the South. The extract was written by Jefferson some time after the event, and may be a little colored by prejudice. He had just returned from abroad.

—On Jefferson, see *American Orations*, I, 366; *Contemporaries*, III, ch. . — On the Capital and assumption of State debts, see *Contemporaries*, III, Nos.

So in the original.

vote of rejection should be rescinded, to effect which some members should change their votes. But it was observed that this pill would be peculiarly bitter to the Southern States, and that some concomitant measure should be adopted to sweeten it a little to them. There had before been propositions to fix the seat of government either at Philadelphia, or at Georgetown on the Potomac ; and it was thought that by giving it to Philadelphia for ten years, and to Georgetown permanently afterwards, this might, as an anodyne, calm in some degree the ferment which might be excited by the other measure alone. So two of the Potomac members (White & Lee, but White with a revulsion of stomach almost convulsive) agreed to change their votes, & Hamilton undertook to carry the other point. In doing this the influence he had established over the Eastern members . . . effected his side of the engagement. And so the assumption was passed, and twenty millions of stock divided among favored states . . .

Thomas Jefferson, *The Anas*, in his *Writings* (edited by P. L. Ford, New York, etc., 1892), I, 162-164.



74. Maritime Grievances (1794)

THE undersigned, envoy of the United States of America, has the honour of representing to the Right Honorable Lord Grenville, his Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for the Department of Foreign Affairs :

That a very considerable number of American vessels have been irregularly captured, and as improperly condemned by certain of his Majesty's officers and judges.

That, in various instances, these captures and condemnations were so conducted, and the captured placed under

Alexander
White and
Richard
Bland Lee,
of Virginia;
Daniel Car-
roll, of Mary-
land, also
changed his
vote.

By CHIEF
JUSTICE
JOHN JAY
(1745-1829).
Jay had had
considerable
diplomatic
training, hav-
ing been, in
1778, minis-
ter to Spain,
in 1783 one
of the com-
missioners to
negotiate the
Peace of Ver-
sailles, and,

such unfavourable circumstances, as that, for want of the securities required, and other obstacles, no appeals were made in certain cases, nor any claims in others.

The undersigned presumes that these facts will appear from the documents which he has had the honour of submitting to his Lordship's consideration ; and that it will not be deemed necessary, at *present*, to particularize these cases and their merits, or detail the circumstances which discriminate some from others.

That great and extensive injuries having thus, under colour of his Majesty's authority and commissions, been done to a numerous class of American merchants, the United States can, for reparation, have recourse only to the justice, authority, and interposition of his Majesty.

That the vessels and property taken and condemned have been chiefly sold, and the proceeds divided among a great number of persons, of whom some are dead, some unable to make retribution, and others, from frequent removals and their particular circumstances, not easily reached by civil process.

That as, for these losses and injuries, adequate compensation, by means of judicial proceedings, has become impracticable, and, considering the causes which combined to produce them, the United States confide in his Majesty's justice and magnanimity to cause such compensation to be made to these innocent sufferers as may be consistent with equity ; and the undersigned flatters himself that such principles may, without difficulty, be adopted, as will serve as rules whereby to ascertain the cases and the amount of compensation.

So grievous are the expenses and delays attending litigated suits, to persons whose fortunes have been so materially affected, and so great is the distance of Great Britain from America, that the undersigned thinks he ought to express his anxiety that a mode of proceeding as summary and

under the Confederation, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, an office which he resigned to become Chief Justice in 1789. In 1794 the country was on the brink of war with England, but the treaty which Jay negotiated with Lord Grenville, November 19, 1794, averted war for some years. The piece is the full text of a memorandum laid by Jay before the British government; it does not include the grievances of the retention of the frontier posts by England, the carrying away of slaves, and the withholding of trade with the West Indies. — For Jay, see *Contemporaries*, III, No. . — For maritime grievances, see *American Orations*, I, 84-130; *Con-*

temporaries,
III, ch.

little expensive may be devised as circumstances and the peculiar hardship of these cases may appear to permit and require.

And as (at least in some of these cases) it may be expedient and necessary, as well as just, that the sentences of the courts of vice-admiralty should be revised and corrected by the Court of Appeals here, the undersigned hopes it will appear reasonable to his Majesty to order that the captured in question (who have not already so done) be there admitted to enter both their *appeals* and their *claims*.

The undersigned also finds it to be his duty to represent that the irregularities before mentioned extended not only to the capture and condemnation of American vessels and property, and to unusual personal severities, but even to the impressment of American citizens to serve on board of armed vessels. He forbears to dwell on the *injuries* done to the unfortunate individuals, or on the *emotions* which they must naturally excite, either in the breast of the nation to whom they belong, or of the just and humane of every country. His reliance on the justice and benevolence of his Majesty leads him to indulge a pleasing expectation that orders will be given that Americans so circumstanced be immediately liberated, and that persons honoured with his Majesty's commissions do, in future, abstain from similar violences.

It is with cordial satisfaction that the undersigned reflects on the impressions which such equitable and conciliatory measures would make on the minds of the United States, and how naturally they would inspire and cherish those sentiments and dispositions which never fail to preserve, as well as to produce, respect, esteem, and friendship.

JOHN JAY.

LONDON, July 30, 1794.

John Jay, *Correspondence and Public Papers* (edited by Henry P. Johnston, New York, etc., [1893]), IV, 38-41.

The most
serious
grievance
down to 1812.
— See below,
No. 76.

75. "The X Y Z Despatches" (1797)

PARIS, October 22, 1797.

. . . ALL of us having arrived at Paris on the evening of the 4th instant, on the next day we verbally, and unofficially, informed the Minister of Foreign Affairs therewith, and desired to know when he would be at leisure to receive one of our secretaries with the official notification. He appointed the next day at two o'clock, when Major Rutledge waited on him . . .

In the evening . . . Mr. X. called on General Pinckney, and after having sat some time, * * * whispered him that he had a message from M. Talleyrand to communicate when he was at leisure. . . . General Pinckney said he should be glad to hear it. M. X. replied that the Directory, and particularly two of the members of it, were exceedingly irritated at some passages of the President's speech, and desired that they should be softened; and that this step would be necessary previous to our reception. That, besides this, a sum of money was required for the pocket of the Directory and ministers, which would be at the disposal of M. Talleyrand; and that a loan would also be insisted on. M. X. said if we acceded to these measures, M. Talleyrand had no doubt that all our differences with France might be accommodated. . . .

October the 21st, M. X. came before nine o'clock; M. Y. did not come until ten: he had passed the morning with M. Talleyrand. After breakfast the subject was immediately resumed. . . . He [M. Y.] said . . . that if we desired him to point out the sum which he believed would be satisfactory [to the Directory], he would do so. We requested him to proceed; and he said that there were thirty-two millions of florins, of Dutch inscriptions, worth ten shillings in the pound, which might be assigned to us at twenty shil-

By C. C.
PINCKNEY
(1746-1825),
JOHN
MARSHALL
(1755-1835),
and
ELBRIDGE
GERRY
(1744-1814),
sent to
France in
1797 as joint
envoys to
settle various
disputed
questions
between the
two govern-
ments.
Talleyrand,
French
Foreign
Minister, re-
fused to re-
ceive them,
but through
secret agents
("X," "Y,"
and "Z")
made an
unofficial
demand for
bribes as a
necessary
preliminary
to any settle-
ment. The
extracts are
from the en-
voys' de-
spatches
home, which
were made
public and
caused war
with France
in 1798.
They are an
example of
diplomatic
correspon-
dence.—For
relations with

France, see
Contemporaries, II, Nos.
199, 213, 216;
III, ch.

i.e. a bribe.

The American grievance was the illegal capture of American merchantmen; the French grievance was that commercial privilege had been allowed to England.
—See No. 74, above.

lings in the pound; and he proceeded to state to us the certainty that, after a peace, the Dutch Government would repay us the money; so that we should ultimately lose nothing, and the only operation of the measure would be, an advance from us to France of thirty-two millions, on the credit of the Government of Holland. We asked him whether the fifty thousand pounds sterling, as a douceur to the Directory, must be in addition to this sum. He answered in the affirmative. . . .

We committed immediately to writing the answer we proposed, in the following words: "Our powers respecting a treaty are ample; but the proposition of a loan, in the form of Dutch inscriptions, or in any other form, is not within the limits of our instructions; upon this point, therefore, the Government must be consulted; one of the American ministers will, for the purpose, forthwith embark for America; provided the Directory will suspend all further captures on American vessels, and will suspend proceedings on those already captured, as well where they have been already condemned, as where the decisions have not yet been rendered; and that where sales have been made, but the money not yet received by the captors, it shall not be paid until the preliminary questions, proposed to the ministers of the United States, be discussed and decided;" which was read as a verbal answer; and we told them they might copy it if they pleased. M. Y. refused to do so; his disappointment was apparent; he said we treated the money part of the proposition as if it had proceeded from the Directory; whereas, in fact, it did not proceed even from the minister, but was only a suggestion from himself, as a substitute to be proposed by us, in order to avoid the painful acknowledgment that the Directory had determined to demand of us. It was told him that we understood that matter perfectly; that we knew the proposition was in form to be ours; but that it came substantially from the minister.

We asked what had led to our present conversation? And General Pinckney then repeated the first communication from M. X. . . .

OCTOBER, 27, 1797.

About twelve we received another visit from M. X. . . . He mentioned the change in the state of things which had been produced by the peace with the emperor, as warranting an expectation of a change in our system; to which we only replied, that this event had been expected by us, and would not, in any degree, affect our conduct. M. X. urged, that the Directory had, since this peace, taken a higher and more decided tone with respect to us, and all other neutral nations, than had been before taken; that it had been determined, that all nations should aid them, or be considered and treated as their enemies. We answered, that such an effect had already been contemplated by us, as probable, and had not been overlooked when we gave to this proposition our decided answer; and further, that we had no powers to negotiate for a loan of money; that our Government had not contemplated such a circumstance in any degree whatever; that if we should stipulate a loan, it would be a perfectly void thing, and would only deceive France, and expose ourselves. M. X. again expatiated on the power and violence of France: he urged the danger of our situation, and pressed the policy of softening them, and of thereby obtaining time. The present men, he said, would very probably not continue long in power, and it would be very unfortunate if those who might succeed, with better dispositions towards us, should find the two nations in actual war. We answered, that if war should be made on us by France, it would be so obviously forced on us, that, on a change of men, peace might be made with as much facility as the present differences could be accommodated. We added, that all America deprecated a war with France; but that our present situation was more ruinous to us than

The French were furious because the Jay treaty had averted war. — See above, No. 74.

Pinckney and Marshall soon withdrew; Gerry remained, but was speedily ordered home.

a declared war could be ; that at present our commerce was plundered unprotected ; but that if war was declared, we should seek the means of protection. M. X. said, he hoped we should not form a connexion with Britain ; and we answered, that we hoped so too ; that we had all been engaged in our Revolutionary war, and felt its injuries ; that it had made the deepest impression on us ; but that if France should attack us, we must seek the best means of self-defence. M. X. again returned to the subject of money : Said he, gentlemen, you do not speak to the point ; it is money : it is expected that you will offer money. We said that we had spoken to that point very explicitly : we had given an answer. No, said he, you have not : what is your answer ? We replied, it is no ; no ; not a six-pence. . . .

American State Papers, Foreign Relations (edited by Walter Lowrie and Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Washington, 1832), II, 157-161 *passim*.

By RICHARD CARTER
(born 1774).
By ancient custom the English navy had the right to compel English sailors to serve ; after the Revolution it insisted that men born in England but naturalized in the United States were also liable, and took

76. A Case of Impressment (1799)

JAMAICA, ss.

RICHARD CARTER, mariner, one of the seamen of and belonging to the ship called the Pomona, of the port of Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, one of the United States of North America, being duly sworn, maketh oath and saith, that he, this deponent, was born in Kittery in the State of Massachusetts, in North America, on or about the twelfth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, and is a citizen of the United States of North America, and had a regular certificate thereof, signed by the proper officer, a true copy whereof is hereunto annexed ; and this deponent

saith, on or about the twenty-third day of April last, he shipped as a seaman on board the said ship Pomona, at Portsmouth aforesaid, for a voyage from thence to Jamaica, and back, and accordingly departed in the said ship on the said voyage, and arrived in Kingston, Jamaica, on or about the seventh day of June instant, where the cargo was to be discharged ; and this deponent saith, that while he was employed in his duty as a seaman, assisting in discharging the cargo of the said ship Pomona, on the eleventh day of this instant, June, he was taken and seized by a press-gang, belonging to His Britannic Majesty's ship of war the Brunswick, and forcibly carried away, notwithstanding this deponent represented to the officer who commanded the said press gang, that he was an American citizen, and had a regular certificate thereof on board the said ship Pomona ; and this deponent saith he was violently forced into a boat and struck twice with a drawn cutlass, by one of the officers with the said press gang, and two men with pistols and hangers placed over this deponent, who loaded their pistols in the presence of deponent, and threatened to blow out his brains if he attempted to move or to speak ; and then they carried this deponent, and also John Edes, one of the seamen of the ship Thomas and Sarah, an American citizen whom they had also seized, on board the said ship of war the Brunswick : and this deponent saith, on getting on board the Brunswick, this deponent, and the said John Edes, were ordered to go on the quarter deck, where Mr. Harris, the first lieutenant of the said ship, abused this deponent and the said John Edes, and gave them in charge to the master of the said ship, while he went to look for the boatswain's mate, and soon after returned with the boatswain's mate, whom he ordered to take this deponent and the said John Edes, and to beat them ; in obedience to which orders, the said John Edes and this deponent were severely beaten, particularly this deponent, the said boatswain's mate doubt-

them off merchant ships on the open seas. When war broke out between France and England, in 1793, the practice began on a large scale. This account describes one case out of hundreds of violence and hardship. Impressment was the main cause of the war of 1812, but was not mentioned in the Treaty of Ghent.—On this and other aggressions on neutral trade, see above, No. 74; below, Nos. 79, 81, 83.

Carter could not properly be taken even on the extreme British ground.

Certificates were issued to undoubted citizens, as a means of protection.

ling a rope of about three inches and a half thick, and beating this deponent with great violence over the head, face, neck, shoulders, back, and stomach, until he had tired himself, and then he gave the same rope to one of the mariners of the said ship Brunswick, and he also severely beat this deponent in the same manner ; and this deponent saith, he received upwards of a hundred blows, and was thereby greatly bruised, and his face cut, and his stomach as well externally as internally much injured, so that this deponent brought up a quantity of blood for several days after ; and this deponent saith, that notwithstanding he had been so cruelly treated, he was compelled to assist in hoisting in the boats belonging to the said ship ; and this deponent saith, that Nathaniel Kennerd, the master of the said ship Pomona, immediately after this deponent was seized by the press gang, went to the said ship Brunswick, and arrived on board just before this deponent ; and the said Nathaniel Kennerd took with him the certificate of this deponent being an American citizen, and submitted the same to the said Lieutenant Harris ; and this deponent saith, he did not give any provocation or commit any offence whatever to authorize or induce the treatment which he received as above stated ; and this deponent saith, he was forcibly detained on board the said ship Brunswick for the space of ten days, when he was brought back to the Pomona, in consequence of a writ of habeas corpus having been sued forth on behalf of this deponent.

RICHARD CARTER.

This is a
good exam-
ple of sworn
affidavits as
historical
material.

Sworn before me (being first duly stamped) this 25th day of June, 1799.

WM. SAVAGE.

American State Papers, Foreign Relations (edited by Walter Lowrie and Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Washington, 1832), II, 273.

CHAPTER XII—JEFFERSON'S POLICY, 1801–1808

77. Election of Jefferson (1801)

IT is probable, that the persons who compose this audience, have never met to celebrate the anniversary of American Independence, with sensations, similar to those which they experience this day. Since the last year, the administration of our national government has gone into the hands of men, whom the generality of the people of New-England have long viewed as its enemies—men, whose principles, and practices, we have both feared, and reprobated. A change of this sort, in a country like this, could not have been wrought without a violent struggle. One side grasping at power, and emolument; the other eagerly endeavouring to save their constitution, and country, exhibit to our view a state of things which presupposes passion, strife and tumult. Success having crowned the exertions of the party, which with no small share of parade assumes the title of Rupubli-can*; but which, in more correct, and definite phraseology, is called Jacobinical; the Federalists, a class of men, to which I trust the most of us are still proud to belong, prudently, and justly yielded to a Constitutional Election of Chief Magistrates, and resolved to wait for events, which to the eye of reason, and common foresight, could not be far distant. The inaugural speech of the new President, was, I believe, very consonant to the feelings, and wishes, of his political opponents. For tho' it contained no specific engagements, relative to the course which the administration intended to pursue; yet it approached so near to this point,

By THEODORE DWIGHT (1764–1846), brother of Timothy Dwight, who was president of Yale College. Dwight was at one time editor of the *Connecticut Mirror*, the leading Federalist organ of Connecticut. This extract, from his Fourth of July oration before the Connecticut Society of the Cincinnati, is an extreme expression of the feelings with which the New England Federalists regarded the advent to office of Jefferson and his party. It is also an example of a political speech, which must

* So in the original.

be accepted as evidence not of facts, but of the temper and opinions of the times.—For Jefferson, see above, No. 73.—For his policy, see *American Orations*, I, 147–163; *Contemporaries*, III, ch.

The Federalists looked on the election of Jefferson as another revolution, and all but elected Burr over him.

Jefferson was disinclined to make political removals, but, under party pressure, displaced about half his officials.

The Federalists used the term "Jacobin" con-

as that most people would consider a violent departure from the Federal principles, as a breach of faith. In this situation, it was easy to foresee, that if Mr. Jefferson fulfilled the seeming promises in his speech, he would be deserted by the furious of his own party; if he failed to fulfil them, the more moderate of both parties would charge him with hypocrisy: A dilemma, not the most enviable for a man, burthened with duties of a new and difficult nature; duties, from which many minds of more skill and firmness than his, would have shrunk with dismay. The Federalists are, therefore, quietly waiting for the disclosure of the principles, which are to govern the new administration. This disclosure, must, in the nature of things, be near at hand. Those, who have heretofore, with all their skill, and labours, opposed, and embarrassed, the operations of the government, will now have its duties to perform, its measures to originate, and its influence and dignity to uphold. Although we are now in the midst of that period, which, after such turbulence, and convulsion, is usually settled, and serene; yet we have received some samples of what we may hereafter expect from the hands of our rulers, when thoroughly fixed in their stations. On this subject, I forbear to comment. It is not expedient, at present, to examine, how far the powers of the President to remove from Office, and to supply the vacancies made by himself, "during the recess of the Senate," extend; and it will be difficult to deprive him of the power of construing his own declarations in his own manner. It is with the result of the administration; that we are more immediately concerned. For that, we must patiently wait. I trust, however, that, if driven into an opposition, the Federalists will not degrade themselves, nor their cause, by a sullen, indecorous, unprincipled, and indiscriminate opposition; but will shew, that they are actuated by higher motives than those, by which a Jacobinical opposition has heretofore been influenced. They will doubtless remember,

that they have a cause to support, a government at stake; and will conduct [themselves] like men, in so interesting and responsible a situation.

In the mean time, let us profit by the lessons which the Jacobins have taught us. We have learned from experience, what great things may be accomplished by a spirit of union, vigilance, and activity. We have seen a vicious combination, composed of the most discordant materials, agreeing to bury their individual, and separate interests, and passions, and uniting, with one heart, and hand, to forward by every mean, and at all hazards, the general plans of the party. We have also seen them succeed. That government, which the collected wisdom, virtue and patriotism of the United States originally planned, and, which we flattered ourselves, was established in its operation, under the auspices, the skill the pre-eminent virtues, and singular talents, of THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY is now the sport of popular commotion — is adrift, without helm or compass, in a turbid and boisterous ocean. To be prepared against the hour of its shipwreck, or to bring it back in safety to its wonted haven, the Federal party must also unite, be watchful, and active. Confident as we are, that the present administration is not competent to the management of the government, upon Jacobinical principles, it is the indispensable duty of the Federalists to be prepared for any event that may happen. For this purpose, they must move in a firm, compact, & formidable phalanx, which no common force can resist, & no ordinary danger intimidate. . . .

Let the people of New-England, and especially the people of Connecticut, enslaved and deluded as they are, contrast this Tartarean state, with their own real, and substantial blessings. However flattered they may be with the arts, and fawnings of Jacobinism; however secure they may feel, in the hour of revolution, from the tender care, and affection of those who profess so much anxiety for their good; let

tinually, in
order to con-
nect their ad-
versaries
with the ultra-
doctrines of
the French
Revolution.

I.e. the Jef-
fersonian Re-
publicans.

So in the
original.

So in the
original.

them remember, that the people of many countries have made the same experiment which is now offered to them, and trusting to the same security, have been irretrievably enslaved, and ruined. When the reigns [reins] of power are in their hands, then these friends of the people, convince those whom they have seduced, that all dependence on their engagements, and promises, is vain. Then "your covenant with death shall be disannulled, and your agreement with hell shall not stand: when the overflowing scourge shall pass through then ye shall be trodden down by it. From the time that it goeth forth, it shall take you: for morning by morning it shall pass over, by day and by night: and it shall be a vexation only to understand the report. For the bed is shorter than that a man can stretch himself on it; and the covering is narrower than that he can wrap himself in it."

Isaiah xxviii, 18-20.

On the contrary, how glorious will it be for Connecticut to stand firmly amidst the convulsions, and downfal of the nations of the world. Trusting in God, and adhering more closely than ever to her government, her morals, and her religion,—

"High o'er the wrecks of man she'll stand sublime,
A COLUMN in the melancholy waste,
(Its cities humbled, and its glories past)
MAJESTIC 'MID THE SOLITUDE OF TIME."

Theodore Dwight, *An Oration, delivered at New-Haven on the 7th of July, A.D. 1801, before the Society of the Cincinnati, for . . . Connecticut* (Suffield, 1801), 3-29 *passim*.

By PRESI-
DENT
THOMAS
JEFFERSON.
It is one of
the curious
anomalies in
our history,

78. Acquisition of Louisiana (1803)

THE acquisition of New Orleans would of itself . . . have been a great thing, as it would have ensured to our western brethren the means of exporting their

produce: but that of Louisiana is inappreciable, because, giving us the sole dominion of the Mississippi, it excludes those bickerings with foreign powers, which we know of a certainty would have put us at war with France immediately: and it secures to us the course of a peaceable nation.

The *unquestioned* bounds of Louisiana are the Iberville & Mississippi on the east, the Mexicana, or the Highlands east of it, on the west; then from the head of the Mexicana gaining the highlands which include the waters of the Mississippi, and following those highlands round the head springs of the western waters of the Mississippi to its source where we join the English or perhaps to the Lake of the Woods. This may be considered as a triangle, one leg of which is the length of the Missouri, the other of the Mississippi, and the hypotenuse running from the source of the Missouri to the mouth of the Mississippi. I should be averse to exchanging any part of this for the Floridas, because it would let Spain into the Mississippi on the principle of natural right, [which] we have always urged & are now urging to her, [namely] that a nation inhabiting the upper part of a stream has a right of innocent passage down that stream to the ocean: and because the Floridas will fall to us peaceably the first war Spain is engaged in. We have some pretensions to extend the western territory of Louisiana to the Rio Norte, or Bravo; and still stronger [pretensions to extend] the eastern boundary to the Rio Perdido between the rivers Mobile & Pensacola. These last are so strong that France had not relinquished them & our negotiator expressly declared we should claim them [:], by properly availing ourselves of these with offers of a price, and our peace, we shall get the Floridas in good time. But in the meantime we shall enter on the exercise of the right of passing down all the rivers which rising in our territory, run thro' the Floridas. Spain will not oppose it by force. But there is a difficulty in this acquisition which presents a handle to the

that our first acquisition of territory should have been secured by our first strict constructionist President. The greatest event in Jefferson's administration was the annexation of Louisiana, which was unexpectedly transferred by Napoleon, and eagerly accepted by Jefferson notwithstanding his scruples against national acts not distinctly authorized in the text of the Constitution.—On Jefferson, see above, No. 73.—On Louisiana, see *American Orations*, I, 205-218; *Contemporaries*, III, ch.

I.e. we will offer to Spain money and friendship, if that power will admit our pretensions to West Florida.

In 1791,
Jefferson op-
posed the
United
States Bank,
on the
ground that
Congress
had no ex-
press power
to charter it.

Made a state
in 1812.

This policy
was carried
out about
1830.

We had
good title to
Texas,
though
Jefferson did
not know it,
and weak
title to West
Florida.

malcontents among us, though they have not yet discovered it. Our confederation is certainly confined to the limits established by the revolution. The general government has no powers but such as the constitution has given it; and it has not given it a power of holding foreign territory, & still less of incorporating it into the Union. An amendment of the Constitution seems necessary for this. In the meantime we must ratify & pay our money, as we have treated, for a thing beyond the constitution, and rely on the nation to sanction an act done for its great good, without its previous authority. With respect to the disposal of the country, we must take the island of New Orleans and west side of the river as high up as Point Coupee, containing nearly the whole inhabitants, say about 50,000, and erect it into a state, or annex it to the Mississippi territory: and shut up all the rest from settlement for a long time to come, endeavoring to exchange some of the country there unoccupied by Indians for the lands held by the Indians on this side the Mississippi, who will be glad to cede us their country here for an equivalent there: and we may sell out our lands here & pay the whole debt contracted before it comes due. The impost which will be paid by the inhabitants ceded will pay half the interest of the price we give: so that we really add only half the price to our debt. . . .

Thomas Jefferson, *Writings* (edited by Paul Leicester Ford, New York, etc., 1897), VIII, 261-263.

Written in
1831 by
MIDSHIP-
MAN BASIL
HALL (1788-
1844). Hall
entered the
British
service in

79. "Blockading a Neutral Port" (1804)

IN the summer of 1804, His Majesty's ships Leander and Cambrian were ordered to proceed off New York, to watch the motions of two French frigates lying in that harbour. . . .

The blockading service at any time is a tedious one ; but upon this occasion we contrived to enliven it in a manner, which, whether legitimate or not, was certainly highly exciting, and sometimes rather profitable to us.

New York, every one knows, is the great sea-port of America, into which, and out of which, many dozens of ships sail daily. With the outward-bound vessels we had little or nothing to do ; but with those which came from foreign parts, especially from France, then our bitter enemy, we took the liberty—the Americans said the improper liberty—to interfere. I speak not of French ships, or those which avowed themselves to be such, and hoisted enemy's colours ; for of these we, of course, made prize, without scruple, whenever we could catch them beyond the limits of the American neutrality. But this very rarely happened ; and the ships we meddled with, so much to the displeasure of the Americans, were those which, to outward appearance, belonged to citizens of the United States, but on board which, we had reason, good or bad, to suspect there was cargo owned by the enemy. Nothing seems to be so easy as to forge a ship's papers, or to swear false oaths ; and accordingly, a great deal of French property was imported into America, in vessels certainly belonging to the United States, but covered, as it was called, by documents implying an American or neutral right in it. . . . During the period of Buonaparte's continental system, especially, about the year 1810, many persons in England engaged largely in what was called the licensed trade, the very essence of which was false swearing, false papers, and the most unprincipled collusion of every kind. A horrible way of making money, of which the base contamination, in the opinion of some of our best merchants, is not yet quite washed away. So that poor Bony, directly and indirectly, has enough to answer for ! . . .

Every morning, at daybreak, during our stay off New York, we set about arresting the progress of all the vessels we saw,

1802 as a midshipman on board the "Leander"; in 1806 he was transferred to the "Leopard." His work, largely auto-biographical, contains much interesting matter on the internal state of the navy in the early part of the century. The English practice of lying off a neutral port gave just offence to the United States, and was one of the causes of the war of 1812.—For maritime grievances, see above, No. 74.—For the principles of neutral trade, see *Contemporaries*, III, ch.

The use of false papers by many American vessels was a standing English grievance.

firing off guns to the right and left, to make every ship that was running in, heave to, or wait, until we had leisure to send a boat on board, "to see," in our lingo, "what she was made of." I have frequently known a dozen, and sometimes a couple of dozen ships, lying a league or two off the port, losing their fair wind, their tide, and worse than all, their market, for many hours, sometimes the whole day, before our search was completed. I am not now inquiring whether all this was right, or whether it was even necessary, but simply describing the fact.

When any circumstance in the ship's papers looked suspicious, the boarding officer brought the master and his documents to the Leander, where they were further examined by the captain; and if any thing more important was then elicited, by an examination of the parties or their papers, to justify the idea that the cargo was French, and not American, as was pretended, the ship was forthwith detained. She was then manned with an English crew from the ships of war, and ordered off to Halifax, to be there tried in the Admiralty Court, or adjudicated, as the term is; and either released with or without demurrage, if proved to be truly neutral property, or condemned, if it were shewn to belong to the enemy.

Demurrage
= payment
for detention.

One can easily conceive that this sort of proceeding, in every possible case, must be vexatious to the neutral. If, in point of fact, the whole, or a portion of the ship's cargo, really belong to that ship's belligerent party, whose enemy is investigating the case, and this be clearly made out, it is still mortifying to the neutral to see the property taken away which he has undertaken to cover so effectually as to guard it from capture. If, on the other hand, the cargo be all the while, *bonâ fide*, the property of the neutral under whose flag it is sailing, the vexation caused by this interruption to the voyage is excessive. In the event of restoration or acquittal, the owner's loss, it is said, is seldom, if ever, ad-

equately compensated for by the awarded damages. In most cases there are found a number of suspicious circumstances, sufficient to justify the detention, but not enough to lead to a condemnation ; and in these instances the remuneration is not great.

If the case, then, be annoying in any view of it, supposing the neutral ship to have been met with on the wide ocean, what must be the aggravation when the vessel is laid hold of at the instant she has all but reached her own home ? when half an hour's further sailing would have ended the voyage successfully, and put it beyond the power of either of the belligerents to have asked any questions about the nature of her objects, or the ownership of her cargo ?

We detained, at that period, a good many American vessels, on the ground of having French or Spanish property on board. One of these, a very large ship from Lima, filled with cocoa, was clearly made out to be a good prize, and was condemned accordingly. Three or four others, I remember, were restored to their owners by the decision of the Admiralty Court ; and two of them were forcibly recaptured by the Americans, on their way to Halifax. On board one of these ships, the master, and the few hands left in her to give evidence at the trial, rose in the night, overpowered the prize-master and his crew, nailed down the hatches, and having put the helm up, with the wind on land, gained the coast before the scale of authority could be turned. In the other ship, the English officer in charge imprudently allowed himself to be drifted so near the land, that the people on the beach, suspecting what had happened, sent off armed boats in sufficient number to repossess themselves of the property. Possession in such cases being not nine, but ten points of the law, we were left to whistle for our prizes !

Captain Basil Hall, *Fragments of Voyages and Travels* (Edinburgh, etc., 1831), I, 284-292 *passim*.

80. Lewis and Clark's Oregon Expedition (1804-1805)

By PATRICK GASS, one of the persons employed in the expedition sent out by President Jefferson in 1804, under Captain Meriwether Lewis and Captain William Clark, to explore the new Louisiana Purchase. Several persons of the exploring corps were enjoined to keep journals, which were from time to time corrected and compared; the journal afterward published by Gass was one of these. The extract is a good example of an explorer's records, and throws light on the Indians of the Northwest.—On Oregon, see *Contemporaries*, III, ch.

THE corps consisted of forty-three men (including Captain Lewis and Captain Clarke, who were to command the expedition) part of the regular troops of the United States, and part engaged for this particular enterprize. The expedition was embarked on board a batteau and two periogues. The day was showery and in the evening we encamped on the north bank six miles up the river. Here we had leisure to reflect on our situation, and the nature of our engagements: and, as we had all entered this service as volunteers, to consider how far we stood pledged for the success of an expedition, which the government had projected; and which had been undertaken for the benefit and at the expence of the Union: of course of much interest and high expectation.

The best authenticated accounts informed us, that we were to pass through a country possessed by numerous, powerful and warlike nations of savages, of gigantic stature, fierce, treacherous and cruel; and particularly hostile to white men. And fame had united with tradition in opposing mountains to our course, which human enterprize and exertion would attempt in vain to pass. . . .

Friday 1st June, 1804. Before daylight we embarked and proceeded on our voyage; passed Big Muddy creek on the north side; and on the opposite side saw high banks. Two and an half miles higher up, we passed Bear creek; and at 4 o'clock P. M. arrived at the Osage river; where we remained during the evening and the next day. The Osage river is 197 yards wide at its confluence with the Missouri, which, at this place, is 875 yards broad. The country on the south side is broken, but rich: and the land on the other of a most excellent quality. The two men who went

by land with the horses came to us here : they represented the land they had passed through as the best they had ever seen, and the timber good, consisting chiefly of oak, ash, hickory and black walnut. They had killed in their way five deer. The periogue left at the mouth of Gaskenade river came up with the man, who had been lost. . . .

Monday 24th. . . . This evening we finished our fortification. Flour, dried apples, pepper and other articles were distributed in the different messes to enable them to celebrate Christmas in a proper and social manner.

Tuesday 25th. The morning was ushered in by two discharges of a swivel, and a round of small arms by the whole corps. Captain Clarke then presented to each man a glass of brandy, and we hoisted the American flag in the garrison, and its first waving in fort Mandan was celebrated with another glass.—The men then cleared out one of the rooms and commenced dancing. At 10 o'clock we had another glass of brandy, and at 1 a gun was fired as a signal for dinner. At half past 2 another gun was fired, as a notice to assemble at the dance, which was continued in a jovial manner till 8 at night ; and without the presence of any females, except three squaws, wives to our interpreter, who took no other part than the amusement of looking on. None of the natives came to the garrison this day ; the commanding officers having requested they should not, which was strictly attended to. . . .

Thursday 12th. We started early on our journey and had a fine morning. Having travelled 2 miles we reached the mountains which are very steep ; but the road over them pretty good, as it is much travelled by the natives, who come across to the Flathead river to gather cherries and berries. Our hunters in a short time killed 4 deer. At noon we halted at a branch of the creek, on the banks of which are a number of strawberry vines, haws, and service berry bushes. At 2 we proceeded on over a large mountain, where there is

Gasconade
River, in
Missouri.

December,
1804.

The winter
quarters of
the expedi-
tion; it was
on the north
side of the
Missouri, in
what is now
McLean
county.
North
Dakota.

September,
1805.

Service-
berry =
June-berry

no water, and we could find no place to encamp until late at night, when we arrived at a small branch, and encamped by it, in a very inconvenient place, having come 23 miles.

Friday 13th. A cloudy morning. Capt. Lewis's horse could not be found ; but some of the men were left to hunt for him and we proceeded on. . . . We passed over a dividing ridge to the waters of another creek, and after travelling 12 miles we encamped on the creek, up which there are some prairies or plains.

The continental divide.

This was the first public expedition in Oregon, and it made the most important link in the chain of claims of the United States to the Northwest coast.

"Bore-tree" =
bourtree, or
elder.

Saturday 14th. We set out early in a cloudy morning ; passed over a large mountain, crossed Stony creek, about 30 yards wide, and then went over another large mountain, on which I saw service-berry bushes hanging full of fruit ; but not yet ripe, owing to the coldness of the climate on these mountains : I also saw a number of other shrubs, which bear fruit, but for which I know no names. There are black elder and bore-tree, pitch and spruce pine all growing together on these mountains. Being here unable to find a place to halt at, where our horses could feed, we went on to the junction of Stony creek, with another large creek, which a short distance down becomes a considerable river, and encamped for the night, as it rained and was disagreeable travelling. The two hunters, that had gone back here joined us with Capt. Lewis's horse, but none of the hunters killed any thing except 2 or 3 pheasants ; on which, without a miracle it was impossible to feed 30 hungry men and upwards, besides some Indians. So Capt. Lewis gave out some portable soup, which he had along, to be used in cases of necessity. Some of the men did not relish this soup, and agreed to kill a colt ; which they immediately did, and set about roasting it ; and which appeared to me to be good eating. This day we travelled 17 miles. . . .

November,
1805.

Friday 15th. This morning the weather appeared to settle and clear off, but the river remained still rough. So we were obliged to continue here until about 1 o'clock,

when the weather became more calm, and we loaded and set out from our disagreeable camp; went about 3 miles, when we came to the mouth of the river, where it empties into a handsome bay. Here we halted on a sand beach, formed a comfortable camp, and remained in full view of the ocean, at this time more raging than pacific. One of the two men who first went out came to us here, the other had joined Capt. Lewis's party. Last night the Indians had stolen their arms and accoutrements, but restored them on the arrival of Captain Lewis and his men in the morning.

Saturday 16th. This was a clear morning and the wind pretty high. We could see the waves, like small mountains, rolling out in the ocean, and pretty bad in the bay.

WE are now at the end of our voyage, which has been completely accomplished according to the intention of the expedition, the object of which was to discover a passage by the way of the Missouri and Columbia rivers to the Pacific ocean; notwithstanding the difficulties, privations and dangers, which we had to encounter, endure and surmount.

Patrick Gass. *A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery, under the command of Capt. Lewis and Capt. Clarke . . .* (Pittsburgh, 1807), 12-165 *passim*.

At the mouth of the Columbia, discovered in 1792 by the American ship "Columbia." Here in 1810 John Jacob Astor founded Astoria. About 1830 settlers began to come in.

81. Effect of the Embargo (1808)

. . . IT is certain some provision must be made touching the embargo previous to our adjournment. A whole people is laboring under a most grievous oppression. All the business of the nation is deranged. All its active hopes are frustrated. All its industry stagnant. Its numerous products hastening to their market, are stopped in their course. A dam is thrown across the current, and every

By JOSIAH QUINCY (1722-1864), member of Congress from Massachusetts, and one of the party of extreme Federalists known as the "Essex Junto"; he was a great

opponent of Jefferson's administration. In a speech January 4, 1811, he was one of the first to announce on the floor of Congress the doctrine of secession; and he strenuously opposed the war. The Embargo Act of 1807 was a prohibition on the departure of any vessels with cargoes for foreign ports, and was meant to bring England and France to terms. Quincy's speech, in spite of the fact that he was a partisan, represents the actual condition of things.—On Quincy, see *Contemporaries*, III, No. 1.

—On the Embargo, see *Contemporaries*, III, ch.

The Embargo was repealed in 1809, on account of the clamor of

hour the strength and the tendency towards resistance is accumulating. The scene we are now witnessing is altogether unparalleled in history. The tales of fiction have no parallel for it. A new writ is executed upon a whole people. Not, indeed, the old monarchial writ, *ne exeat regno*, but a new republican writ, *ne exeat republīcā*. Freemen, in the pride of their liberty, have restraints imposed on them which despotism never exercised. They are fastened down to the soil by the enchantment of law; and their property vanishes in the very process of preservation. It is impossible for us to separate and leave such a people at such a moment as this, without administering some opiate to their distress. Some hope, however distant, of alleviation must be proffered; some prospect of relief opened. Otherwise, justly might we fear for the result of such an unexampled pressure. Who can say what counsels despair might suggest, or what weapons it might furnish? . . .

. . . The embargo power, which now holds in its palsying gripe all the hopes of this nation, is distinguished by two characteristics of material import, in deciding what control shall be left over it during our recess. I allude to its greatness and its novelty.

As to its greatness, nothing is like it. Every class of men feels it. Every interest in the nation is affected by it. The merchant, the farmer, the planter, the mechanic, the laboring poor,—all are sinking under its weight. But there is this that is peculiar to it, that there is no equality in its nature. It is not like taxation, which raises revenue according to the average of wealth; burdening the rich and letting the poor go free. But it presses upon the particular classes of society, in an inverse ratio to the capacity of each to bear it. From those who have much, it takes indeed something. But from those who have little, it takes all. For what hope is left to the industrious poor when enterprise, activity, and capital are proscribed their legitimate exercise? . . . The

regulations of society forbid what was once property to be so any longer. For property depends on circulation, on exchange; on ideal value. The power of property is all relative. It depends not merely upon opinion here, but upon opinion in other countries. If it be cut off from its destined market, much of it is worth nothing, and all of it is worth infinitely less than when circulation is unobstructed.

This embargo power is, therefore, of all powers the most enormous, in the manner in which it affects the hopes and interests of a nation. But its magnitude is not more remarkable than its novelty. An experiment, such as is now making, was never before—I will not say tried—it never before entered into the human imagination. There is nothing like it in the narrations of history or in the tales of fiction. All the habits of a mighty nation are at once counteracted. All their property depreciated. All their external connections violated. Five millions of people are encaged. They cannot go beyond the limits of that once free country; now they are not even permitted to thrust their own property through the grates. I am not now questioning its policy, its wisdom, or its practicability: I am merely stating the fact. And I ask if such a power as this, thus great, thus novel, thus interfering with all the great passions and interests of a whole people, ought to be left for six months in operation, without any power of control, except upon the occurrence of certain specified and arbitrary contingencies? Who can foretell when the spirit of endurance will cease? Who, when the strength of nature shall outgrow the strength of your bonds? Or if they do, who can give a pledge that the patience of the people will not first be exhausted. . . .

Southern
planters,
whose ex-
ports were
cut off, and of
the threats of
New Eng-
land ship-
owners.

It is still
doubtful
whether the
Embargo
was a consti-
tutional
statute.

The Em-
bargo caused
great loss to
America, and
had little
effect on
England and
France.

Josiah Quincy, *Speeches delivered in the Congress of the United States* (edited by Edmund Quincy, Boston, 1874), 37-45
passim.

By FRANCIS
JAMES JACK-
SON (1770-
1814), a dip-
lomat of wide
and extended
experience.
He was sent,
in 1809, by
the British
government
as minister
plenipotentiary
to Wash-
ington. He
began by as-
suming that
his predeces-
sor, Erskine,
had been
tricked, and
soon came to
a flat as-
sertion
that the Sec-
retary of
State was de-
nying the
truth, and
that the
President
was involved.
His relations
were closed
by a note
from the
American
government,
to the effect
that, owing to
his insulting
language, it
could have
nothing fur-
ther to do
with him.
After that he
made a tour
of the Eastern

CHAPTER XIII—THE WAR OF 1812

82. Impressions of America (1810)

NEW YORK, May 1st, 1810.

... **T**O serve an immediate electioneering purpose a story was circulated, on the arrival of the packet, of Lord Wellesley having declared to Mr. Pinckney his disapprobation of my conduct. . . .

In fact if Lord W. had even made such a declaration, he would have hurt his own and his country's interests much more than mine; for the minds of men in *this* country are now so completely made up *for me* and *against* the Government that, in the end, I shall have little reason to care what his Lordship says or thinks on the subject; though I look forward with full confidence to the next arrivals for a full approbation of what I have done. Ministers cannot disapprove of, though they may be sorry for it; and if they are sorry it must be for the trouble it occasions them, for as I have told them, there is no loss of any adjustment of differences—that being impracticable with this country upon the principles of my instructions. I hope they [the English ministry] are adopting the line that I recommended to them—that of procrastinating any negotiation whatever—but they might as well have told me so for my own guidance and information, instead of leaving me a prey to all the lies and misrepresentations which the Democrats have found it necessary to propagate on the subject for election purposes. It would be an absolute disgrace to the country, and would produce an impression never to be got over here—the ill effects of which in all future transactions we should not fail

to be made sensible of—if another minister were to be sent out without some sort of satisfaction being taken or received for the treatment I have experienced. They ought to insist on my being reinstated; though God knows 10,000 £. a year and all the ribands, blue, green, or red that ever were manufactured should not induce me to continue here. However, if ministers have acted at all upon my *predications*, as the Yankees say, they are now at liberty, from the course things have progressively taken, to do exactly what they please, even to turning out the democratic party altogether, if it were otherwise desirable. But this may be doubted; for a more despicable set I never before met with, and they can do neither England nor any other country any harm. They are as deficient in talent as in principle, which surprised me on comparing them with our European Democrats, amongst whom talent is not wanting; and the mob is by many degrees more blackguard and ferocious than the mob in other countries.

To show what they are capable of and the little safety or satisfaction there is in living amongst them, I send you a cutting from a New York paper, giving an account of a disgraceful outrage that took place in that dirty nest of philosophy, Philadelphia, on the occasion of an entertainment given by the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, on the anniversary of the Emperor's coronation. . . .

Of the political system pursued by the present Government, I, of course, can have nothing good to say, but for the rest, enough has been done by the most respectable part of the American people to prove to me that they in no way participate in the sentiments of the Washington party, or approve of the treatment I have received from them. . . .

*The Bath Archives. A Further Selection from the Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson, K.C.H. (edited by Lady Jackson, London, 1873), I, 108–121 *passim*.*

States. His private letters and those of his wife, written during this time, contain many comments on existing conditions.—On diplomacy with England, see *Contemporaries*, III, ch. . —On the war of 1812, see *Contemporaries*, III, ch. .

This was not the estimate of Americans then current among educated Englishmen.

I.e. the Federalists.

Jackson remained in the country about a year, and was not disavowed by the British government.

By PRESIDENT JAMES MADISON (1751-1836), in succession member of Congress, Secretary of State, and President. Essentially a man of peace, he was not successful in his management of the war; and his argument that France had respected our rights and that England should therefore withdraw her orders in council, was untenable. Moreover, he did not have a united country behind him, for most of the New-Englanders preferred the British side to the French. The extract is from a private letter to Jefferson, May 25, 1812. — For Madison, see *Contemporaries*, III, ch. — For causes of the war, see *American Orations*, I.

83. Causes of the War (1812)

... FRANCE has done nothing towards adjusting our differences with her. It is understood that the Berlin and Milan Decrees are not in force against the United States, and no contravention of them can be established against her. On the contrary, positive cases rebut the allegation. Still, the manner of the French Government betrays the design of leaving G. Britain a pretext for enforcing her Orders in Council. And in all other respects, the grounds for our complaints remain the same. . . . In the mean time, the business is become more than ever puzzling. To go to war with England and not with France arms the Federalists with new matter, and divides the Republicans, some of whom, with the Quids, make a display of impartiality. To go to war against both presents a thousand difficulties; above all, that of shutting all the ports of the Continent of Europe against our cruisers, who can do little without the use of them. It is pretty certain, also, that it would not gain over the Federalists, who would turn all those difficulties against the administration. The only consideration of weight in favor of this triangular war, as it is called, is, that it might hasten through a peace with G. Britain or France; a termination, for a while, at least, of the obstinate questions now depending with both.

But even this advantage is not certain. For a prolongation of such a war might be viewed by both belligerents as desirable, with as little reason for the opinion as has prevailed in the past conduct of both.

[June 22.] I inclose a paper containing the Declaration of war . . . It is understood that the Federalists in Congress are to put all the strength of their talents into a protest against the war, and that the party at large are to be brought out in all their force. . . .

[July 25.] The conduct of the nation against whom this

resort has been proclaimed left no choice but between that and the greater evil of a surrender of our Sovereignty on the Element on which all nations have equal rights, and in the free use of which the United States, as a nation whose agriculture and commerce are so closely allied, have an essential interest.

The appeal to force in opposition to the force so long continued against us had become the more urgent, as every endeavor short of it had not only been fruitless, but had been followed by fresh usurpations and oppressions. The intolerable outrages committed against the crews of our vessels, which, at one time, were the result of alleged searches for deserters from British ships of war, had grown into a like pretension, first, as to all British seamen, and next, as to all British subjects; with the invariable practice of seizing on all neutral seamen of every Nation, and on all such of our own seamen as British officers interested in the abuse might please to demand.

The Blockading orders in Council, commencing on the plea of retaliating injuries indirectly done to G. Britain, through the direct operation of French Decrees against the trade of the United States with her, and on a professed disposition to proceed step by step with France in revoking them, have been since bottomed on pretensions more and more extended and arbitrary, till at length it is openly avowed as indispensable to a repeal of the Orders as they affect the U. States, that the French Decrees be repealed as they affect G. Britain directly, and all other neutrals, as well as the United States. To this extraordinary avowal is super-added abundant evidence that the real object of the Orders is, not to restore freedom to the American Commerce with G. Britain, which could, indeed, be little interrupted by the Decrees of France, but to destroy our lawful commerce, as interfering with her own unlawful commerce with her enemies. The only foundation of this attempt to banish

205; *Contemporaries*, III, ch.

The "Quids" were extreme Democrats.

The absurd idea of fighting both powers was much discussed at the time.

Began in
1806.

the American flag from the highway of Nations, or to render it wholly subservient to the commercial views of the British Government, is the absurd and exploded doctrine that the ocean, not less than the land, is susceptible of occupancy and dominion ; that this dominion is in the hands of G. Britain ; and that her laws, not the law of Nations, which is ours as well as hers, are to regulate our maritime intercourse with the rest of the world.

When the United States assumed and established their rank among the nations of the Earth, they assumed and established a common Sovereignty on the high seas, as well as an exclusive sovereignty within their territorial limits. The one is as essential as the other to their character as an Independent Nation. However conceding they may have been on controvertible points, or forbearing under casual and limited injuries, they can never submit to wrongs irreparable in their kind, enormous in their amount, and indefinite in their duration ; and which are avowed and justified on principles degrading the United States from the rank of a sovereign and independent power. In attaining this high rank, and the inestimable blessings attached to it, no part of the American people had a more meritorious share than the people of New Jersey. From none, therefore, may more reasonably be expected a patriotic zeal in maintaining by the sword the unquestionable and unalienable rights acquired by it

James Madison. *Letters and Other Writings* (Philadelphia, 1865), II, 535-538 *passim*.

By CAPTAIN
ISAAC HULL
(1773-1843).
Hull began
his naval
career in 1798
as a fourth
lieutenant on

84. Capture of the Guerrière (1812)

U. S. frigate, Constitution, off Boston Light,
August 30, 1812.

SIR. I have the honour to inform you, that on the 19th inst. at 2 P.M. being in lat. $41^{\circ} 42'$ and long. $55^{\circ} 48'$, with

the *Constitution* under my command, a sail was discovered from the mast-head bearing E. by S. or E. S. E. but at such a distance we could not tell what she was. All sail was instantly made in chase, and soon found we came up with her. At 3 P.M. could plainly see, that she was a ship on the starboard tack under easy sail, close on a wind ; at half past 3 P.M. made her out to be a frigate ; continued the chase until we were within about three miles, when I ordered the light sails to be taken in, the courses hauled up, and the ship cleared for action. At this time the chase had backed his maintop-sail, waiting for us to come down. As soon as the *Constitution* was ready for action, I bore down with intention to bring him to close action immediately ; but on our coming within gun-shot she gave us a broadside and fil[1]ed away, and wore, giving us a broadside on the other tack, but without effect ; her shot falling short. She continued wearing and manœuvring for about three quarters of an hour, to get a raking position, but finding she could not, she bore up, and run under her top-sails and gib, with the wind on her quarter. I immediately made sail to bring the ship up with her, and five minutes before 6 P.M. being along side within half pistol-shot, we commenced a heavy fire from all our guns, double shotted with round and grape, and so well directed were they, and so warmly kept up, that in 15 minutes his mizen-mast went by the board and his main yard in the slings, and the hull, rigging, and sails very much torn to pieces. The fire was kept up with equal warmth for 15 minutes longer, when his mainmast and foremast went, taking with them every spar, excepting the bowsprit. On seeing this we ceased firing, so that in thirty minutes after, we got fairly along side the enemy ; she surrendered, and had not a spar standing, and her hull below and above water so shattered, that a few more broadsides must have carried her down.

After informing you, that so fine a ship as the *Guerriere*,

the "Constitution," and at the outbreak of the war of 1812 he had risen to be commander of the vessel. Soon after the famous action with the "*Guerrière*," he generously resigned his command in order to give the other naval officers a chance, for at this time there were more men than ships. This piece is part of his official report to the Secretary of the Navy. — On naval battles in the war, see *Contemporaries*, III, ch.

The gunnery of the Americans was far superior to that of the British in most of the naval battles.

This was the first time for many years that a British man-of-war had surrendered to about equal force.

commanded by an able and experienced officer, had been totally dismasted, and otherwise cut to pieces so as to make her not worth towing into port, in the short space of thirty minutes, you can have no doubt of the gallantry and good conduct of the officers and ship's company I have the honour to command ; it only remains therefore for me to assure you, that they all fought with great bravery ; and it gives me great pleasure to say, that from the smallest boy in the ship to the oldest seaman, not a look of fear was seen. They all went into action, giving three cheers, and requested to be laid close along side the enemy.

Enclosed I have the honour to send you a list of killed and wounded on board the *Constitution* [total, 14], and a report of the damages she has sustained ; also a list of killed and wounded on board the enemy [total 77, and 24 missing], with his quarter bill, &c. . . .

Those missing were supposed to have gone overboard with the masts.

[Abel Bowen,] *The Naval Monument* (Boston, 1816), 7-9.

By REVER-END
GEORGE ROBERT GLEIG (1796-1888), who served in the British army during the war of 1812, and was present at Bladensburg, the capture of Washington, Baltimore, and New Orleans. In 1820 he published a book on his American experiences; it is based on

85. Capture of Washington (1814)

. . . TOWARDS morning, a violent storm of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning, came on, which disturbed the rest of all those who were exposed to it. Yet, in spite of the disagreeableness of getting wet, I cannot say that I felt disposed to grumble at the interruption, for it appeared that what I had before considered as superlatively sublime, still wanted this to render it complete. The flashes of lightning seemed to vie in brilliancy, with the flames which burst from the roofs of burning houses, while the thunder drowned the noise of crumbling walls, and was only interrupted by the occasional roar of cannon, and of large dépôts of gunpowder, as they one by one exploded.

. . . the consternation of the inhabitants was complete, and . . . to them this was a night of terror. So confident had they been of the success of their troops, that few of them had dreamt of quitting their houses, or abandoning the city ; nor was it till the fugitives from the battle began to rush in, filling every place as they came with dismay, that the President himself thought of providing for his safety. That gentleman, as I was credibly informed, had gone forth in the morning with the army, and had continued among his troops till the British forces began to make their appearance. Whether the sight of his enemies cooled his courage or not, I cannot say, but, according to my informer, no sooner was the glittering of our arms discernible, than he began to discover that his presence was more wanted in the senate than with the army ; and having ridden through the ranks, and exhorted every man to do his duty, he hurried back to his own house, that he might prepare a feast for the entertainment of his officers, when they should return victorious. For the truth of these details, I will not be answerable ; but this much I know, that the feast was actually prepared, though, instead of being devoured by American officers, it went to satisfy the less delicate appetites of a party of English soldiers. When the detachment, sent out to destroy Mr. Maddison's house, entered his dining parlour, they found a dinner-table spread, and covers laid for forty guests. . . .

. . . They sat down to it, therefore, not indeed in the most orderly manner, but with countenances which would not have disgraced a party of aldermen at a civic feast ; and having satisfied their appetites with fewer complaints than would have probably escaped their rival *gourmands*, and partaken pretty freely of the wines, they finished by setting fire to the house which had so liberally entertained them.

But, as I have just observed, this was a night of dismay to the inhabitants of Washington. They were taken com-

his journal, and is the best among the English accounts, being impartial and in the main accurate ; the style is lively and interesting. The British force numbered only 5,000 men, and marched fifty miles up into a country where there were at least 50,000 able-bodied men available. An unsuccessful attempt was made to stop the British at Bladensburg. — For the land campaigns of the war, see *Contemporaries*, III, ch.

Madison had been gone some hours before the British came

pletely by surprise ; nor could the arrival of the flood be more unexpected to the natives of the antediluvian world, than the arrival of the British army to them. The first impulse of course tempted them to fly, and the streets were in consequence crowded with soldiers and senators, men, women and children, horses, carriages, and carts loaded with household furniture, all hastening towards a wooden bridge which crosses the Potomac. The confusion thus occasioned was terrible, and the crowd upon the bridge was such as to endanger its giving away. But Mr. Maddison, having escaped among the first, was no sooner safe on the opposite bank of the river, than he gave orders that the bridge should be broken down ; which being obeyed, the rest were obliged to return, and to trust to the clemency of the victors.

In this manner was the night passed by both parties ; and at day-break next morning, the light brigade moved into the city, while the reserve fell back to a height, about half a mile in the rear. Little, however, now remained to be done, because every thing marked out for destruction, was already consumed. Of the senate-house, the President's palace, the barracks, the dock-yard, &c. nothing could be seen, except heaps of smoking ruins ; and even the bridge, a noble structure upwards of a mile in length, was almost wholly demolished. There was, therefore, no farther occasion to scatter the troops, and they were accordingly kept together as much as possible on the Capitol hill.

[George Robert Gleig.] *A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army at Washington and New Orleans* (London, 1821), 128-132 *passim*.

The pretext
for this de-
struction was
the burning
of some pub-
lic buildings
by American
troops at
York (now
Toronto).

By MAJOR
ARSENE LA-
CARRIÈRE
LATOUR,
Jackson's
chief engi-
neer. A

86. Battle of New Orleans (1815)

ALITTLE before daybreak, our outpost came in without noise, having perceived the enemy moving forward in great force.

At last the dawn of day discovered to us the enemy occupying two-thirds of the space between the wood and the Mississippi. Immediately a Congreve rocket went off from the skirt of the wood, in the direction of the river. This was the signal for the attack. At the same instant, the twelve-pounder of battery No. 6, whose gunners had perceived the enemy's movement, discharged a shot. On this all his troops gave three cheers, formed in close column of about sixty men in front, in very good order, and advanced nearly in the direction of battery No. 7, the men shouldering their muskets, and all carrying fascines, and some with ladders. A cloud of rockets preceded them, and continued to fall in showers during the whole attack. Batteries Nos. 6, 7 and 8, now opened an incessant fire on the column, which continued to advance in pretty good order, until, in a few minutes, the musketry of the troops of Tennessee and Kentucky, joining their fire with that of the artillery, began to make an impression on it, which soon threw it into confusion. It was at that moment that was heard that constant rolling fire, whose tremendous noise resembled rattling peals of thunder. For some time the British officers succeeded in animating the courage of their troops, and making them advance, obliqueing to the left, to avoid the fire of battery No. 7, from which every discharge opened the column, and mowed down whole files, which were almost instantaneously replaced by new troops coming up close after the first: but these also shared the same fate, until at last, after twenty-five minutes continual firing, through which a few platoons advanced to the edge of the ditch, the column entirely broke, and part of the troops dispersed, and ran to take shelter among the bushes on the right. The rest retired to the ditch where they had been when first perceived, four hundred yards from our lines.

There the officers with some difficulty rallied their troops, and again drew them up for a second attack, the soldiers

good authority regards Latour as "the only trustworthy contemporary historian of the Louisiana campaign." By his position he was well qualified for his task, and he treated the subject in an unbiased temper. The battle took place January 8, 1815.—On the Southern campaign, see *Contemporaries*, III, ch.

Jackson had showed great energy in organizing his defence, and had fortified the narrow space between the river and a swamp over which the British must pass.—On Jackson, see No. 102, below.

having laid down their knapsacks at the edge of the ditch, that they might be less incumbered. And now, for the second time, the column, recruited with the troops that formed the rear, advanced. Again it was received with the same rolling fire of musketry and artillery, till, having advanced without much order very near our lines, it at last broke again, and retired in the utmost confusion. . . .

The attack on our lines had hardly begun, when the British commander-in-chief, the honourable sir Edward Packenham, fell a victim to his own intrepidity, while endeavouring to animate his troops with ardour for the assault. Soon after his fall, two other generals, Keane and Gibbs, were carried off the field of battle, dangerously wounded. A great number of officers of rank had fallen: the ground over which the column had marched, was strewed with the dead and the wounded. Such slaughter on their side, with no loss on ours, spread consternation through their ranks, as they were now convinced of the impossibility of carrying our lines, and saw that even to advance was certain death. In a word, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of some officers to make the troops form a third time, they would not advance, and all that could be obtained from them, was to draw them up in the ditch, where they passed the rest of the day. . . .

I deem it my indispensable duty to do justice to the intrepid bravery displayed in that attack by the British troops, especially by the officers. . . . The British soldiers showed, on this occasion, that it is not without reason they are said to be deficient in agility. The enormous load they had to carry contributed indeed not a little to the difficulty of their movement. Besides their knapsacks, usually weighing nearly thirty pounds, and their musket, too heavy by at least one third, almost all of them had to carry a fascine from nine to ten inches in diameter, and four feet long, made of sugar-canæ perfectly ripe, and consequently very heavy, or a ladder from ten to twelve feet long.

Pakenham
was one of
Wellington's
commanders,
and the
troops were
veterans, re-
cently victo-
rious over
Napoleon.

The duty of impartiality, incumbent on him who relates military events, obliges me to observe that the attack made on Jackson's lines, by the British, on the 8th of January, must have been determined on by their generals, without any consideration of the ground, the weather, or the difficulties to be surmounted, before they could storm lines, defended by militia indeed, but by militia whose valour they had already witnessed, with soldiers bending under the weight of their load, when a man, unincumbered and unopposed, would that day have found it difficult to mount our breastwork at leisure and with circumspection, so extremely slippery was the soil. . . .

Major A. Lacarrière Latour, *Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-15* (translated by H. P. Nugent, Philadelphia, 1816), 154-161 *passim*.



87. Discussion of the Peace (1814)

GHENT, December 25, 1814.

. . . THE treaty of peace we signed yesterday with the British ministers is, in my opinion, as favorable as could be expected under existing circumstances, so far as they were known to us. The attitude taken by the State of Massachusetts, and the appearances in some of the neighboring States, had a most unfavorable effect. Of the probable result of the congress at Vienna we had no correct information. The views of all the European powers were precisely known from day to day to the British Ministry. From neither of them did we in any shape receive any intimation of their intentions, of the general prospect of Europe, or of the interest they took in our contest with Great Britain. I have some reason to believe that all of them were desirous that it might continue. They did not intend to assist us;

By ALBERT GALLATIN (1761-1849), one of the five commissioners chosen to represent the United States in the peace negotiations at Ghent. His biographer, Henry Adams, says, "The Treaty of Ghent was the special work and peculiar triumph of Mr. Gallatin." Madison was forced to consent to the omission from the

treaty of the point of impressments. The following official letter, discussing the results obtained, was written, on the day after the signing, to James Monroe, then Secretary of State.—On Gallatin, see *American Orations*, I, 84, 353.—On the peace of 1814, see *Contemporaries*, III, ch.

Massachusetts opposed the war and joined in the Hartford Convention.

Wellington gave it as his opinion that the Americans were very strong behind breastworks.

The "Indian article" was an agreement to make peace with the Western and Southern Indians.

Moose Island is in Passamaquoddy Bay.

A separate

they appeared indifferent about our difficulties; but they rejoiced at anything which might occupy and eventually weaken our enemy. The manner in which the campaign has terminated, the evidence afforded by its events of our ability to resist alone the now very formidable military power of England, and our having been able, without any foreign assistance, and after she had made such an effort, to obtain peace on equal terms, will raise our character and consequence in Europe. This, joined with the naval victories and the belief that we alone can fight the English on their element, will make us to be courted as much as we have been neglected by foreign governments. As to the people of Europe, public opinion was most decidedly in our favor. . . . I have little to add to our public despatch on the subject of the terms of the treaty. I really think that there is nothing but nominal in the Indian article as adopted. . . . You know that there was no alternative between breaking off the negotiations and accepting the article, and that we accepted it only as provisional and subject to your approbation or rejection. The exception of Moose Island from the general restoration of territory is the only point on which it is possible that we might have obtained an alteration if we had adhered to our opposition to it. The British government had long fluctuated on the question of peace: . . . We thought it too hazardous to risk the peace on the question of the temporary possession of that small island, since the question of title was fully reserved, and it was therefore no cession of territory. On the subject of the fisheries within the jurisdiction of Great Britain, we have certainly done all that could be done. If, according to the construction of the treaty of 1783, which we assumed, the right was not abrogated by the war, it remains entire, since we most explicitly refused to renounce it directly or indirectly. In that case it is only an unsettled subject of difference between the two countries. If the right must be con-

sidered as abrogated by the war, we cannot regain it without an equivalent. We had none to give but the recognition of their right to navigate the Mississippi, and we offered it on this last supposition. This right is also lost to them, and in a general point of view we have certainly lost nothing. But we have done all that was practicable in support of the right to those fisheries, 1, by the ground we assumed respecting the construction of the treaty of 1783; 2, by the offer to recognize the British right to the navigation of the Mississippi; 3, by refusing to accept from Great Britain both her implied renunciation to the right of that navigation and the convenient boundary of 49 degrees for the whole extent of our and her territories west of the Lake of the Woods, rather than to make an implied renunciation on our own part to the right of America to those particular fisheries. I believe that Great Britain is very desirous of obtaining the northern part of Maine, say from about 47 north latitude to the northern extremity of that district as claimed by us. . . . [On the question of] the foundation of their disputing our claim to the northern part of that territory . . . feeling that it is not very solid, I am apt to think that they will be disposed to offer the whole of Passamaquoddy Bay and the disputed fisheries as an equivalent for this portion of northern territory, which they want in order to connect New Brunswick and Quebec. This may account for their tenacity with respect to the temporary possession of Moose Island, and for their refusing to accept the recognition of their right to the navigation of the Mississippi, provided they recognized ours to the fisheries. That northern territory is of no importance to us, and belongs to the United States, and not to Massachusetts . . .

convention
on this sub-
ject was
made in 1818.

The United
States ad-
hered to its
claims until
1842, when
they were
settled by a
compromise

Albert Gallatin, *Writings* (edited by Henry Adams, Philadelphia, 1879), I, 645-647 *passim*.

CHAPTER XIV—CONDITIONS OF NATIONAL GROWTH, 1815-1830

By JOHN MELISH (1771-1822), a Scotchman, who travelled extensively in the United States and published accounts of his journeys. His statements are based on careful observation, and his attitude is unprejudiced, though he was very favorably disposed toward the United States and its institutions. He regarded this country as the most favorable place for developing British ideas of government untrammelled by traces of feudalism; and, by reason of its resources and the character of its inhabitants, as as-

88. Boston and Neighboring Towns (1806)

BOSTON is built on a peninsula, at the head of Massachusetts Bay. . . . A great part of the town lies low along the bay; but the ground rises to a considerable elevation in the middle, where the State-House is built, which gives it a very handsome appearance at a distance. The town partakes of the nature of the old towns in England, and is irregularly built, many of the streets being crooked and narrow; but the more modern part is regular, and the streets broad and well paved. . . . there are five public squares; but none of them are of great extent, except the *Mall*, which is a very elegant piece of public ground, in front of the State-House.

The number of dwelling-houses is above 3500, and, by the census of 1800, the inhabitants were 24,937; from the increase that has since taken place, it is presumed that the number is now upwards of 30,000. The greater part of the houses are built of brick, and many of them are spacious and elegant.

The public buildings are the State-House, Court-House, Jail, Concert-Hall, Faneuil-Hall, Alms-House, Work-House, and Bridewell; the Museum, Library, Theatre, and nine congregational, three episcopal, and two baptist churches, with one each for Roman catholics, methodists, and universalists. The public buildings are in general very handsome, and the greater part of the churches are ornamented with spires.

The markets of Boston are well supplied with every kind of country provisions, fruit, and fish. The prices are not materially different from those of New York. Flour is generally a little higher; but cod-fish, which is the universal Saturday dinner, is lower. . . .

. . . Public education is on an excellent footing. There are eight or nine public schools, supported at the expence of the town, which are accessible to all the members of the community, free of expence. They are managed by a committee of twenty-one gentlemen, chosen annually, and are under good regulations. Besides these, there are a number of private seminaries, at which all the various branches of education are taught; and, upon the whole, I believe Boston may challenge a competition on this branch with any city in Europe, Edinburgh, in Scotland, perhaps, excepted.

The fruits of this attention to the improvement of the mind, and the cultivation of the benevolent affections, are very apparent in the deportment of the citizens of Boston, who are intelligent, sober, and industrious; and, though much attached to the subject of religion, they are more liberal, generally speaking, than any people I have yet been amongst. The ladies of Boston are generally handsome, with fine complexions; and, judging from the sample which I saw, they have a richness of intellect, and a cheerfulness of deportment, that makes them truly interesting. Altogether, Boston is really a fine place. . . .

. . . I went to a number of the public places; among others, the State-House, from whence there is a most elegant view of the town, bay, shipping, neck, bridges, and the whole country round, to the distance of from twelve to fifteen miles, in each direction, presenting most picturesque scenery. . . .

The bridges of Boston merit particular attention, being works of great extent and utility, and constructed at a vast expence; a proof of the sagacity and persevering industry of this people. . . .

sured of a great social, economic, and political future. — On colonial Boston, see above, Nos. 17, 52, 53. — On the conditions of New England in 1815, see *Contemporaries*, III, ch. .

. . . Lynn is a pretty little town, remarkable for its extensive manufacture of shoes. From thence we travelled to Salem, about seven miles, through a very rugged, stony country, but by an excellent turnpike road, made, I was informed, mostly by Irishmen. I may here take occasion to remark, that the Irish emigrants are exceedingly useful in this country, and a great portion of the most rugged labour in it is performed by them. The lower orders of the Irish are generally strong, robust men, without money, and with a very slender education. Hence they are generally unfit for any kind of mercantile employment, and those who have not learned some mechanical profession get employment in various branches of labour, for which they are well adapted ; and, getting good wages, they soon become independent and happy. Hence the Irish are remarkable for their attachment to the American government, while many other foreigners, particularly those engaged in commerce, are discontented and fretful.

John Melish, *Travels in the United States of America, 1806-1811*
(Philadelphia, 1812), I, 89-94 *passim*.

89. The Virginia Gentleman (1801-1809)

By COLONEL
THOMAS
JEFFERSON
RANDOLPH
(1792-1875),
the eldest
grandson of
Jefferson.
He was born
at Monti-
cello, and
brought up
in the house,
and there-
fore speaks
from intimate
personal

HIS [Jefferson's] manners were of that polished school of the Colonial Government, so remarkable in its day—under no circumstances violating any of those minor conventional observances which constitute the well-bred gentleman, courteous and considerate to all persons. On riding out with him when a lad, we met a negro who bowed to us ; he returned his bow ; I did not. Turning to me, he asked,

“ Do you permit a negro to be more of a gentleman than yourself ? ”

Mr. Jefferson's hair, when young, was of a reddish cast ; sandy as he advanced in years ; his eye, hazel. Dying in his 84th year, he had not lost a tooth, nor had one defective ; his skin thin, peeling from his face on exposure to the sun, and giving it a tattered appearance ; the superficial veins so weak, as upon the slightest blow to cause extensive suffusions of blood — in early life, upon standing to write for any length of time, bursting beneath the skin ; it, however, gave him no inconvenience. His countenance was mild and beignant, and attractive to strangers.

While President, returning on horseback from Charlottesville with company whom he had invited to dinner, and who were, all but one or two, riding ahead of him, on reaching a stream over which there was no bridge, a man asked him to take him up behind him and carry him over. The gentlemen in the rear coming up just as Mr. Jefferson had put him down and ridden on, asked the man how it happened that he had permitted the others to pass without asking them ? He replied,

"From their looks, I did not like to ask them ; the old gentleman looked as if he would do it, and I asked him."

He was very much surprised to hear that he had ridden behind the President of the United States.

Mr. Jefferson's stature was commanding — six feet two-and-a-half inches in height, well formed, indicating strength, activity, and robust health ; his carriage erect ; step firm and elastic, which he preserved to his death ; his temper, naturally strong, under perfect control ; his courage cool and impassive. No one ever knew him exhibit trepidation. His moral courage of the highest order — his will firm and inflexible — it was remarked of him that he never abandoned a plan, a principle, or a friend.

A bold and fearless rider, you saw at a glance, from his easy and confident seat, that he was master of his horse, which was usually the fine blood-horse of Virginia. The

knowledge. Owing, however, to the very natural veneration which he had for his great relative, his characterization may hardly be held to cover the whole ground.— For other opinions of Jefferson, see above, No. 58 and ch. xi. — On the South, see *Contemporaries*, III, ch.

only impatience of temper he ever exhibited was with his horse, which he subdued to his will by a fearless application of the whip on the slightest manifestation of restiveness. He retained to the last his fondness for riding on horseback ; he rode within three weeks of his death, when, from disease, debility, and age, he mounted with difficulty. He rode with confidence, and never permitted a servant to accompany him ; he was fond of solitary rides and musing, and said that the presence of a servant annoyed him.

He held in little esteem the education which made men ignorant and helpless as to the common necessities of life ; and he exemplified it by an incident which occurred to a young gentleman returned from Europe, where he had been educated. On riding out with his companions, the strap of his girth broke at the hole for the buckle ; and they, perceiving it an accident easily remedied, rode on and left him. A plain man coming up, and seeing that his horse had made a circular path in the road in his impatience to get on, asked if he could aid him.

"Oh, sir," replied the young man, "if you could only assist me to get it up to the next hole."

"Suppose you let it out a hole or two on the other side," said the man.

His habits were regular and systematic. He was a miser of his time, rose always at dawn, wrote and read until breakfast, breakfasted early, and dined from three to four . . . retired at nine, and to bed from ten to eleven. He said, in his last illness, that the sun had not caught him in bed for fifty years.

He always made his own fire. He drank water but once a day, a single glass, when he returned from his ride. He ate heartily, and much vegetable food, preferring French cookery, because it made the meats more tender. He never drank ardent spirits or strong wines. Such was his aversion to ardent spirits, that when, in his last illness, his physician

desired him to use brandy as an astringent, he could not induce him to take it strong enough.

Sarah N. Randolph, *The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson*,
(New York, Harper & Brothers, 1872), 337-339.



90. Religious Life in the West (1828)

. . . EXCEPT among the Catholics, there are very few settled pastors, in the sense in which that phrase is understood in New England and the Atlantic cities. Most of the ministers, that are in some sense permanent, discharge pastoral duties not only in their individual societies, but in a wide district about them. The range of duties, the emolument, the estimation, and in fact the whole condition of a western pastor, are widely different from an Atlantic minister. . . . A circulating phalanx of Methodists, Baptists and Cumberland Presbyterians, of Atlantic missionaries, and of young eleves of the Catholic theological seminaries, from the redundant mass of unoccupied ministers, both in the Protestant and Catholic countries, pervades this great valley with its numerous detachments, from Pittsburg, the mountains, the lakes, and the Missouri, to the gulf of Mexico. They all pursue the interests of their several denominations in their own way, and generally in profound peace. . . .

. . . If we except Arkansas and Louisiana, there is every where else an abundance of some kind of preaching. The village papers on all sides contain printed notices, and written ones are affixed to the public places, notifying what are called 'meetings.' A traveller in a clerical dress does not fail to be asked, at the public houses, where he stops, if he is a preacher, and if he wishes to notify a meeting.

By REVEREND TIMOTHY FLINT (1780-1840), a Massachusetts clergyman, who spent some years as a missionary in the Mississippi and Ohio valleys. The account from which this piece is taken, written about two years after his return, is an example of a contemporary narrative, composed while the events described were fresh in memory, but from a perspective sufficiently removed.

As in colonial times, religious concerns were one of the chief interests of the frontiersmen.

—For other accounts of the West, see

Contemporaries, III, ch.

"Eleves," i.e.
pupils.

There are stationary preachers in the towns, particularly in Ohio. But in the rural congregations through the western country beyond Ohio, it is seldom that a minister is stationary for more than a few months. A ministry of a year in one place may be considered beyond the common duration. Nine tenths of the religious instruction of the country is given by people, who itinerate, and who are, with very few exceptions, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, men of great zeal and sanctity. . . . Travelling from month to month through dark forests, with such ample time and range for deep thought, as they amble slowly on horseback along their peregrinations, the men naturally acquire a pensive and romantic turn of thought and expression, as we think, favorable to eloquence. Hence the preaching is of a highly popular cast, and its first aim is to excite the feelings.—Hence, too, excitements, or in religious parlance 'awakenings,' are common in all this region. . . .

None, but one who has seen, can imagine the interest, excited in a district of country, perhaps, fifty miles in extent, by the awaited approach of the time for a camp meeting; and none, but one who has seen, can imagine how profoundly the preachers have understood what produces effect, and how well they have practised upon it. . . . The notice has been circulated two or three months. On the appointed day, coaches, chaises, wagons, carts, people on horseback, and multitudes travelling from a distance on foot, wagons with provisions, mattresses, tents, and arrangements for the stay of a week, are seen hurrying from every point towards the central spot. . . .

The ambitious and wealthy are there, because in this region opinion is all-powerful; and they are there, either to extend their influence, or that their absence may not be noted, to diminish it. Aspirants for office are there, to electioneer, and gain popularity. Vast numbers are there from simple curiosity, and merely to enjoy a spectacle. The

young and the beautiful are there, with mixed motives, which it were best not severely to scrutinize. Children are there, their young eyes glistening with the intense interest of eager curiosity. The middle aged fathers and mothers of families are there, with the sober views of people, whose plans in life are fixed, and waiting calmly to hear. Men and women of hoary hairs are there, with such thoughts, it may be hoped, as their years invite.—Such is the congregation consisting of thousands. . . .

The line of tents is pitched ; and the religious city grows up in a few hours under the trees, beside the stream. Lamps are hung in lines among the branches ; and the effect of their glare upon the surrounding forest is, as of magic. . . . Meantime the multitudes, with the highest excitement of social feeling added to the general enthusiasm of expectation, pass from tent to tent, and interchange apostolic greetings and embraces, and talk of the coming solemnities. . . . An old man, in a dress of the quaintest simplicity, ascends a platform, wipes the dust from his spectacles, and in a voice of suppressed emotion, gives out the hymn, of which the whole assembled multitude can recite the words,— and an air, in which every voice can join. . . . The hoary orator talks of God, of eternity, a judgment to come, and all that is impressive beyond. He speaks of his ‘experiences,’ his toils and travels, his persecutions and welcomes, and how many he has seen in hope, in peace and triumph, gathered to their fathers ; and when he speaks of the short space that remains to him, his only regret is, that he can no more proclaim, in the silence of death, the mercies of his crucified Redeemer.

There is no need of the studied trick of oratory, to produce in such a place the deepest movements of the heart. . . .

Whatever be the cause, the effect is certain, that through the state of Tennessee, parts of Mississippi, Missouri, Ken-

tucky, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, these excitements have produced a palpable change in the habits and manners of the people. The gambling and drinking shops are deserted; and the people, that used to congregate there, now go to the religious meetings. The Methodists, too, have done great and incalculable good. They are generally of a character, education and training, that prepare them for the elements, upon which they are destined to operate. They speak the dialect, understand the interests, and enter into the feelings of their audience. They exert a prodigious and incalculable bearing upon the rough backwoods men; and do good, where more polished, and trained ministers would preach without effect. . . .

That part of Pennsylvania and Virginia west of the mountains has a predominance of Presbyterians. The great state of Ohio is made up of such mixed elements, that it would be difficult to say, which of all the sects prevails. As a general characteristic, the people are strongly inclined to attend on some kind of religious worship. . . . Methodists, Presbyterians and Catholics are the prevailing denominations of the West.

Timothy Flint, *A Condensed Geography and History of the Western States, or the Mississippi Valley* (Cincinnati, 1828), I, 217-224 *passim*.

By SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN QUINCY ADAMS (1767-1848), under dates of February 24 and March 3, 1820. He went farther than his colleagues in

91. Missouri Compromise (1820)

I HAD some conversation with Calhoun on the slave question pending in Congress. He said he did not think it would produce a dissolution of the Union, but, if it should, the South would be from necessity compelled to form an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Great Britain.

I said that would be returning to the colonial state.

He said, yes, pretty much, but it would be forced upon

them. I asked him whether he thought, if by the effect of this alliance, offensive and defensive, the population of the North should be cut off from its natural outlet upon the ocean, it would fall back upon its rocks bound hand and foot, to starve, or whether it would not retain its powers of locomotion to move southward by land. Then, he said, they would find it necessary to make their communities all military. I pressed the conversation no further; but if the dissolution of the Union should result from the slave question, it is as obvious as anything that can be foreseen of futurity, that it must shortly afterwards be followed by the universal emancipation of the slaves. . . .

After this meeting, I walked home with Calhoun, who said that the principles which I had avowed were just and noble; but that in the Southern country, whenever they were mentioned, they were always understood as applying only to white men. Domestic labor was confined to the blacks, and such was the prejudice, that if he, who was the most popular man in his district, were to keep a white servant in his house, his character and reputation would be irretrievably ruined.

I said that this confounding of the ideas of servitude and labor was one of the bad effects of slavery; but he thought it attended with many excellent consequences. It did not apply to all kinds of labor—not, for example, to farming. He himself had often held the plough; so had his father. Manufacturing and mechanical labor was not degrading. It was only manual labor—the proper work of slaves. No white person could descend to that. And it was the best guarantee to equality among the whites. It produced an unvarying level among them. It not only did not excite, but did not even admit of inequalities, by which one white man could domineer over another.

I told Calhoun I could not see things in the same light. It is, in truth, all perverted sentiment—mistaking labor for

the cabinet (who all agreed that Congress had the constitutional right to prohibit slavery in the Territories), in asserting that that prohibition applied not only to the Territory as such, but to all future States which might be carved out of it. The following is a striking illustration of a practice which the Southern leaders had begun, of threatening secession whenever their wishes regarding the extension of slavery were opposed. The extract is from one of the most valuable of all the sources on American history, the journal of Adams.—On Adams, see *American Orations*, II, 115, 372; *Contemporaries*, III, No. . — On the Compro-

mise, see
*American
Orations*, II,
33-101; *Contem-
poraries*,
III, ch.

Adams's
prophecy of
civil war in
the third
paragraph
was fulfilled
in 1861.

The "meet-
ing" men-
tioned in the
fourth para-
graph was a
cabinet meet-
ing held
March 3,
1820, to con-
sider the
Compromise
bill.

"Double
represen-
tation" by the
Federal or
three-fifths
ratio.

slavery, and dominion for freedom. The discussion of this Missouri question has betrayed the secret of their souls. In the abstract they admit that slavery is an evil, they disclaim all participation in the introduction of it, and cast it all upon the shoulders of our old Grandam Britain. But when probed to the quick upon it, they show at the bottom of their souls pride and vainglory in their condition of masterdom. They fancy themselves more generous and noble-hearted than the plain freemen who labor for subsistence. They look down upon the simplicity of a Yankee's manners, because he has no habits of overbearing like theirs and cannot treat negroes like dogs. . . . The impression produced upon my mind by the progress of this discussion is, that the bargain between freedom and slavery contained in the Constitution of the United States is morally and politically vicious, inconsistent with the principles upon which alone our Revolution can be justified ; cruel and oppressive, by riveting the chains of slavery, by pledging the faith of freedom to maintain and perpetuate the tyranny of the master ; and grossly unequal and impolitic, by admitting that slaves are at once enemies to be kept in subjection, property to be secured or restored to their owners, and persons not to be represented themselves, but for whom their masters are privileged with nearly a double share of representation. The consequence has been that this slave representation has governed the Union. Benjamin portioned above his brethren has ravined as a wolf. In the morning he has devoured the prey, and at night he has divided the spoil. It would be no difficult matter to prove, by reviewing the history of the Union under this Constitution, that almost everything which has contributed to the honor and welfare of the nation has been accomplished in despite of them or forced upon them, and that everything unpropitious and dishonorable, including the blunders and follies of their adversaries, may be traced to them. I have favored this Missouri compromise, believing

it to be all that could be effected under the present Constitution, and from extreme unwillingness to put the Union at hazard. But perhaps it would have been a wiser as well as a bolder course to have persisted in the restriction upon Missouri, till it should have terminated in a convention of the States to revise and amend the Constitution. This would have produced a new Union of thirteen or fourteen States unpolluted with slavery, with a great and glorious object to effect, namely, that of rallying to their standard the other States by the universal emancipation of their slaves. If the Union must be dissolved, slavery is precisely the question upon which it ought to break. For the present, however, this contest is laid asleep.

Not till 1836
did Adams
awaken on
this question.

John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs* (edited by Charles Francis Adams, Philadelphia, 1875), IV, 530-531; V, 10-12 *passim*.

92. A Settler in Illinois (1817)

. . . I AM now going to take you to the prairies, to shew you the very beginning of our settlement. Having fixed on the north-western portion of our prairie for our future residence and farm, the first act was building a cabin, about two hundred yards from the spot where the house is to stand. This cabin is built of round straight logs, about a foot in diameter, lying upon each other, and notched in at the corners, forming a room eighteen feet long by sixteen; the intervals between the logs "chunked," that is, filled in with slips of wood; and "mudded," that is, daubed with a plaster of mud: a spacious chimney, built also of logs, stands like a bastion at one end: the roof is well covered with four hundred "clap boards" of cleft oak, very much like the pales used in England for fencing parks. A hole is cut through the

By MORRIS BIRKBECK (+1832), an Englishman, who settled in Illinois and founded the town of New Albion. His account of the country is very optimistic, and he appears to have been somewhat prejudiced against the land of his birth, whence he had emigrated to get more elbow-room. His book is made

up of letters to friends and others who had applied to him for information and advice relative to emigration. He presents his information in a specific, sprightly, and interesting form.—On other English travellers, see above, Nos. 26, 55, 82.—On the West, see above, Nos. 66, 90; *Contemporaries*, III, ch.

side, called, very properly, the “door, (the through,)” for which there is a “shutter,” made also of cleft oak, and hung on wooden hinges. All this has been executed by contract, and well executed, for twenty dollars. I have since added ten dollars to the cost, for the luxury of a floor and ceiling of sawn boards, and it is now a comfortable habitation.

. . . We arrived in the evening, our horses heavily laden with our guns, and provisions, and cooking utensils, and blankets, not forgetting the all-important axe. This was immediately put in requisition, and we soon kindled a famous fire, before which we spread our pallets, and, after a hearty supper, soon forgot that besides ourselves, our horses and our dogs, the wild animals of the forest were the only inhabitants of our wide domain. Our cabin stands at the edge of the prairie, just within the wood, so as to be concealed from the view until you are at the very door. Thirty paces to the east the prospect opens from a commanding eminence over the prairie, which extends four miles to the south and south-east, and over the woods beyond to a great distance ; whilst the high timber behind, and on each side, to the west, north, and east, forms a sheltered cove about five hundred yards in width. It is about the middle of this cove, two hundred and fifty yards from the wood each way, but open to the south, that we propose building our house.

Well, having thus established myself as a resident proprietor, in the morning my boy and I (our friend having left us) sallied forth in quest of neighbours, having heard of two new settlements at no great distance. Our first visit was to Mr. Emberson, who had just established himself in a cabin similar to our own, at the edge of a small prairie two miles north-west of us. We found him a respectable young man, more farmer than hunter, surrounded by a numerous family, and making the most of a rainy day by mending the shoes of his household. We then proceeded to Mr. Wood-

land's, about the same distance south-west : he is an inhabitant of longer standing, for he arrived in April, Mr. E. in August. He has since built for us a second cabin, connected with the first by a covered roof or porch, which is very convenient, forming together a commodious dwelling. . . .

. . . Our township is a square of six miles each side, or thirty-six square miles ; and what may properly be called our neighbourhood, extends about six miles round this township in every direction. Six miles to the north is the boundary of surveyed lands. . . .

There are many other prairies, or natural meadows, of various dimensions and qualities, scattered over this surface, which consists of about two hundred square miles, containing perhaps twelve human habitations, all erected, I believe, within one year of our first visit — most of them within three months. At or near the mouth of the Bonpas, where it falls into the Big Wabash, we project a shipping port : a ridge of high land, without any intervening creek, will afford an easy communication with the river at that place. . . .

There are no very good mill-seats on the streams in our neighbourhood, but our prairie affords a most eligible site for a windmill ; we are therefore going to erect one immediately : the materials are in great forwardness, and we hope to have it in order to grind the fruits of the ensuing harvest.

Two brothers, and the wife of one of them, started from the village of Puttenham, close to our old Wanborough, and have made their way out to us : they are carpenters, and are now very usefully employed in preparing the scantlings for the mill, and other purposes. You may suppose how cordially we received these good people. They landed at Philadelphia, not knowing where on this vast continent they should find us : from thence they were directed to Pittsburgh, a wearisome journey over the mountains of more

English towns.

than 300 miles ; at Pittsburgh they bought a little boat for six or seven dollars, and came gently down the Ohio, 1,200 miles, to Shawnee-town ; from thence they proceeded on foot till they found us. . . .

By the first of March I hope to have two ploughs at work, and may possibly put in 100 acres of corn this spring. Early in May, I think, we shall be all settled in a convenient temporary dwelling, formed of a range of cabins of ten rooms, until we can accomplish our purpose of building a more substantial house. . . .

Morris Birkbeck, *Letters from Illinois* (London, 1818), 30-35
passim.

93. Amusements in New Orleans (1818)

By SURGEON
HENRY
BRADSHAW
FEARON
(born about
1770), a
London sur-
geon, sent to
the United
States in 1817
by a number
of English
families, for
the purpose
of ascertain-
ing what part
of the coun-
try, if any,
would be
suitable for
settlement.
He writes
from a some-
what un-
friendly point
of view and
with a slight
tendency
toward hasti-
ness and ex-
aggeration.

THE French language is still predominant in New Orleans. The population is said to be 30,000 ; two thirds of which do not speak English. The appearance of the people too was French, and even the negroes evinced, by their antics, in rather a ludicrous manner, their previous connection with that nation.

The general manners and habits are very relaxed. The first day of my residence here was Sunday, and I was not a little surprised to find in the United States the markets, shops, theatre, circus, and public ball-rooms open. Gambling houses *throng* the city : all coffee-houses, together with the exchange, are occupied from morning until night, by gamesters. It is said, that when the Kentuckians arrive at this place, they are in their glory, finding neither limit to, nor punishment of their excesses. The general style of living is luxurious. Houses are elegantly furnished. The ball-room, at Davis's hotel, I have never seen exceeded in splendour. Private dwellings partake of the same character ;

and the ladies dress with expensive elegance. The sources of public amusement are numerous and varied ; among them I remark the following :

“INTERESTING EXHIBITION.

“On Sunday the 9th inst. will be represented in the place where Fire-works are generally exhibited, near the Circus, an extraordinary fight of *Furious Animals*. The place where the animals will fight is a rotunda of 160 feet in circumference, with a railing 17 feet in height, and a circular gallery well conditioned and strong, inspected by the Mayor and surveyors by him appointed.

“1st Fight—A strong Attakapas Bull, attacked and subdued by six of the strongest dogs of the country.

“2d Fight—Six Bull-dogs against a Canadian Bear.

“3d Fight—A beautiful Tiger against a black Bear.

“4th Fight—Twelve dogs against a strong and furious Ope-loussas Bull.

“If the Tiger is not vanquished in his fight with the Bear, he will be sent alone against the last Bull, and if the latter conquers all his enemies, several pieces of fire-works will be placed on his back, which will produce a very entertaining amusement.

“In the Circus will be placed two Manakins, which, notwithstanding the efforts of the Bulls, to throw them down, will always rise again, whereby the animals will get furious.

“The doors will be opened at three and the Exhibition begin at four o'clock precisely.

“Admittance, one dollar for grown persons and 50 cents for children.

“A military band will perform during the Exhibition.

“If Mr. Renault is so happy as to amuse the spectators by that new spectacle, he will use every exertion to diversify and augment it, in order to prove to a generous public, whose patronage has been hitherto so kindly bestowed upon him, how anxious he is to please them.”

Henry Bradshaw Fearon, *Sketches of America. A Narrative of a Journey of Five Thousand Miles through the Eastern and Western States of America* (London, 1818), 275-277.

In this piece he gives a vivid picture of certain aspects of life in a South-western pioneer town of the early days.
There is no reason to doubt that the handbill was actually circulated.—For the Southwest, see *Contemporaries*, III, ch.

CHAPTER XV—ABOLITIONISTS, 1835–1841

By REVEREND JOHN RANKIN (1793–1886), Presbyterian minister, and founder of an anti-slavery society in Carlisle, Kentucky, in 1818; later he removed to Ripley, Ohio, and became an anti-slavery leader; he was mobbed as many as twenty times, was a conductor on the Underground Railroad, and assisted Eliza and her child, the originals of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, to escape. About 1824 he addressed a series of letters to his brother in Virginia, to dissuade him from becoming a slave-owner. Rankin is a type

94. A Western Abolition Argument (1824)

THESE difficulties, however, should be considered as so many arguments in favor of the work. If but a little good can be done, it is the more necessary that that little should be done. That involuntary slavery is a very dangerous evil, and that our nation is involved in it, none can, with truth, deny. And that the safety of our government, and the happiness of its subjects, depend upon the extermination of this evil, must be obvious to every enlightened mind. Nor is it less evident, that it is the duty of every citizen, according to his station, talents and opportunity, to use suitable exertions for the abolition of an evil which is pregnant with the growing principles of ruin. Surely, no station should be unimproved, no talent, however small, should be buried; nor should any opportunity of doing good be lost, when the safety of a vast nation, and the happiness of millions of the human family, demand prompt and powerful exertions. Every thing that can be done, either by fair discussion, or by any other lawful means, ought to be done, and done speedily, in order to avert the hastening ruin that must otherwise soon overtake us!

Let all the friends of justice and suffering humanity, do what little they can, in their several circles, and according to their various stations, capacities and opportunities; and all their little streams of exertion will, in process of time,

flow together, and constitute a mighty river that shall sweep away the yoke of oppression, and purge our nation from the abominations of slavery. . . .

. . . And here I must remark upon one main objection to the emancipation of slaves; it is that they are, in consequence of the want of information, incapacitated for freedom, and that it is necessary to detain them in bondage until they may be better prepared for liberation; but from the preceding remarks it is abundantly evident that they are now better prepared with respect to information, for emancipation than they will be at any future period, and that less inconvenience and danger would attend their liberation at the present, than at any future time. It must be obvious to every one, capable of discernment, that the inconvenience and danger of emancipation will increase in proportion as slaves become more numerous. Indeed all the difficulties that attend emancipation are rapidly increasing; and they must certainly be endured at some period, sooner or later; for it is most absurd to imagine that such an immense body of people, most rapidly increasing, can always be retained in bondage; and therefore it is much better to endure those difficulties now than it will be when they shall have grown to the most enormous size. . . .

. . . Now take a view of the slave population in the United States, and you will see that a vast quantity of the very best talent is entirely suppressed by want of suitable means of improvement — it lies buried deeply in the wreck of liberty, and the cruel hand of oppression draws around it the dark shades of endless night. Thus brilliant talents, immortal powers, designed to enrich, illuminate and aggrandize the world, lie dormant and useless beneath the grossest covering of unavoidable ignorance! and all that is noble and grand in our nature, wastes in the drudgery of a servile life! Were all the talent that is now suppressed by slavery, in all our slaveholding states, properly improved,

of the Western abolitionists who preceded and later joined William Lloyd Garrison; and this piece is an example of the abolition argument against slavery.—On abolition, see above, Nos. 35, 46; bibliographies in McDougall, *Fugitive Slaves*, and Siebert, *Underground Railroad*; and extracts in *American Orations*, II (entirely devoted to slavery speeches), *American History Studies*, I, Nos. 6, 7; *Contemporaries*, III, ch. II, Nos. 2, 5.

liberated, and brought into action, how vastly would it add to the strength, wealth, and intelligence of our nation! . . .

We are commanded to ‘do justly and love mercy,’ and this we ought to do without delay, and leave the consequences attending it to the control of Him who gave the command. We ought also to remember that no excuse for disobedience will avail us any thing when he shall call us to judgment. If we refuse to do the Africans justice, we may expect the supreme Governor of the world to avenge their wrongs, and cause their own arm to make them free! Hence, our own safety demands their liberation. Hold them in bondage, and you will inure them to hardship, and prepare them for the day of battle. You will also keep them together, increase their numbers, and enable them to overpower the nation. Their enormous increase, beyond that of the white population, is truly alarming. But liberate them, and their increase will become proportionate to the rest of the nation. They will scatter over this Union—many of them will emigrate to Hayti and Africa. Prepare them for citizenship, and give them the privileges of free men, and they will have no inducements to do us harm; but persist in oppressing them, and ruin will eventually burst upon our nation. The storm is gathering fast—dismal clouds already begin to darken our horizon! A few more years, and the work of death will commence!

John Rankin, *Letters on American Slavery* (second edition, Newburyport, 1836), Preface, iii–iv, and 24–117 *passim*.

By GOV-
ERNOR
GEORGE
MCDUFFIE
(about 1788–
1851).
McDuffie

95. A Southern Defence of Slavery (1835)

FOR the institution of domestic slavery we hold ourselves responsible only to God, and it is utterly incompatible with the dignity and the safety of the State,

The returning away hitherto of several of my slaves
makes it necessary to adopt measures to
prevent others from following their example
You are therefore hereby directed
to communicate to my negroes the measures
I have adopted - It will sometimes be necessary
and is my intent to set at liberty of any of my slaves
whom I can no longer keep as servants by clearing
the farm with and for me, & of the attorney
and safely lodged in the jail of Franklin
a reward of \$20 shall be paid to the
person taking such slave, and if taken
within twenty miles of the manor a
reward of \$50 shall be paid to those
persons returning such slave and
so long as his master live all overpaid -

of the Slave Possessors and Palleners at
Geo to Melt Elliott & Co, or in the vicinity
providing a draft as above mentioned
and now will be refused to those deserving
their services.

Wm. C. Brown & Son
and Wm. C. Brown & Sons
Ch. Compt. of Comptrollers
Boston Oct 18 28



This hitherto unpublished letter, by the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, throws an interesting light on the matter-of-fact treatment of slaves even by kind masters. The original is the property of Mr. Charles E. Grinnell of Roxbury, Mass.

to permit any foreign authority to question our right to maintain it. It may nevertheless be appropriate, as a voluntary token of our respect for the opinions of our confederate brethren, to present some views to their consideration on this subject, calculated to disabuse their minds of false opinions and pernicious prejudices.

No human institution, in my opinion, is more manifestly consistent with the will of God, than domestic slavery, and no one of his ordinances is written in more legible characters than that which consigns the African race to this condition, as more conducive to their own happiness, than any other of which they are susceptible. Whether we consult the sacred Scriptures, or the lights of nature and reason, we shall find these truths as abundantly apparent, as if written with a sunbeam in the heavens. Under both the Jewish and Christian dispensations of our religion, domestic slavery existed with the unequivocal sanction of its prophets, its apostles and finally its great Author. The patriarchs themselves, those chosen instruments of God, were slave-holders. In fact the divine sanction of this institution is so plainly written that "he who runs may read" it, and those over-righteous pretenders and Pharisees, who effect to be scandalized by its existence among us, would do well to inquire how much more nearly they walk in the ways of Godliness, than did Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. That the African negro is destined by Providence to occupy this condition of servile dependence, is not less manifest. It is marked on the face, stamped on the skin, and evinced by the intellectual inferiority and natural improvidence of this race. They have all the qualities that fit them for slaves, and not one of those that would fit them to be freemen. They are utterly unqualified not only for rational freedom, but for self-government of any kind.—They are, in all respects, physical, moral and political, inferior to millions of the human race, who have for consecutive ages, dragged out a wretched

was a supporter of Andrew Jackson, until the relations between the government and South Carolina became strained after 1828, when he resigned from the Senate and was elected governor of his State, remaining in office from 1834 to 1836. He regarded nullification not as a constitutional, but as a just revolutionary measure. The message from which the piece is taken was sent to the South Carolina legislature in 1835. On slavery and the other current issues of which it treats, it expresses the views of the extremists among the contemporaneous Southern leaders.—For the full message, see *American History Leaflets*, No. 10.—For other South-

ern defences
of slavery,
see Nos. 91
above and
113 below;
Contemporaries, III, ch.

All this argument was disproved by the result of the Civil War.

Scripture authority was a favorite argument down to 1861.

existence under a grinding political despotism, and who are doomed to this hopeless condition by the very qualities which unfit them for a better. It is utterly astonishing that any enlightened American, after contemplating all the manifold forms in which even the white race of mankind are doomed to slavery and oppression, should suppose it possible to reclaim the African race from their destiny. The capacity to enjoy freedom is an attribute not to be communicated by human power. It is an endowment of God, and one of the rarest which it has pleased his inscrutable wisdom to bestow upon the nations of the earth. It is conferred as the reward of merit, and only upon those who are qualified to enjoy it. Until the "Ethiopian can change his skin," it will be vain to attempt, by any human power, to make freemen of those whom God has doomed to be slaves, by all their attributes.

Let not, therefore, the misguided and designing intermeddlers who seek to destroy our peace, imagine that they are serving the cause of God by practically arraigning the decrees of his Providence. Indeed it would scarcely excite surprise, if with the impious audacity of those who projected the tower of Babel, they should attempt to scale the battlements of Heaven, and remonstrate with the God of wisdom for having put the mark of Cain and the curse of Ham upon the African race, instead of the European. . . .

It is perfectly evident that the destiny of the Negro race is, either the worst possible form of political slavery, or else domestic servitude as it exists in the slaveholding States. The advantage of domestic slavery over the most favorable condition of political slavery, does not admit of a question. It is the obvious interest of the master, not less than his duty, to provide comfortable food and clothing for his slaves; and whatever false and exaggerated stories may be propagated by mercenary travellers, who make a trade of exchanging calumny for hospitality, the peasantry and operatives of

no country in the world are better provided for, in these respects, than the slaves of our country. . . .

. . . They habitually labor from two to four hours a day less than the operatives in other countries, and it has been truly remarked, by some writer, that a negro cannot be made to injure himself by excessive labor. It may be safely affirmed that they usually eat as much wholesome and substantial food in one day, as English operatives or Irish peasants eat in two. And as it regards concern for the future, their condition may well be envied even by their masters. There is not upon the face of the earth, any class of people, high or low, so perfectly free from care and anxiety. They know that their masters will provide for them, under all circumstances, and that in the extremity of old age, instead of being driven to beggary or to seek public charity in a poor-house, they will be comfortably accommodated and kindly treated among their relatives and associates. . . .

In a word, our slaves are cheerful, contented and happy, much beyond the general condition of the human race, except where those foreign intruders and fatal ministers of mischief, the emancipationists, like their arch-prototype in the Garden of Eden, and actuated by no less envy, have tempted them to aspire above the condition to which they have been assigned in the order of Providence.

Nor can it be admitted, as some of our own statesmen have affirmed, in a mischievous and misguided spirit of sickly sentimentality, that our system of domestic slavery is a curse to the white population — a moral and political evil, much to be deplored, but incapable of being eradicated. Let the tree be judged by its fruit. . . .

. . . where the menial offices and dependent employments of society are performed by domestic slaves, a class well defined by their color and entirely separated from the political body, the rights of property are perfectly secure, without the establishment of artificial barriers. In a word,

The testimony of travellers contradicts this statement.

Calhoun elaborated the argument that "slavery was a positive good." See *Ameri-*

can Orations, II, 123. the institution of domestic slavery supercedes the necessity of an order of nobility, and all the other appendages of a hereditary system of government. . . .

See Stephens, below, No. 113.

Domestic slavery, therefore, instead of being a political evil, is the corner stone of our republican edifice. No patriot who justly estimates our privileges will tolerate the idea of emancipation, at any period, however remote, or on any conditions of pecuniary advantage, however favorable[.] I would as soon think of opening a negociation for selling the liberty of the State at once, as for making any stipulations for the ultimate emancipation of our slaves. So deep is my conviction on this subject, that if I were doomed to die immediately after recording these sentiments, I could say in all sincerity and under all the sanctions of christianity and patriotism, "God forbid that my descendants, in the remotest generations, should live in any other than a community having the institution of domestic slavery, as it existed among the patriarchs of the primitive Church and in all the free states of antiquity."

Journal of the General Assembly of South Carolina, 1835 (appended to *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly . . . passed in December, 1836*, Columbia, 1837), 5-8 *passim*.

By WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON (1805-1879), a colleague of Benjamin Lundy in publishing the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in Boston in 1828. On Jan. 1, 1831, Garrison founded the

96. An Anti-Abolitionist Mob (1835)

THE sign being demolished, the cry for "Garrison!" was renewed, more loudly than ever. It was now apparent that the multitude would not disperse until I had left the building; and as egress out of the front door was impossible, the Mayor and his assistants, as well as some of my friends, earnestly besought me to effect my escape in the rear of the building. . . .

Preceded by my faithful and beloved friend Mr. J—

R—— C——, I dropped from a back window on to a shed, and narrowly escaped falling headlong to the ground. We entered into a carpenter's shop, through which we attempted to get into Wilson's Lane, but found our retreat cut off by the mob. They raised a shout as soon as we came in sight, but the workmen promptly closed the door of the shop, kept them at bay for a time, and thus kindly afforded me an opportunity to find some other passage. I told Mr. C. it would be futile to attempt to escape — I would go out to the mob, and let them deal with me as they might elect ; but he thought it was my duty to avoid them as long as possible. We then went up stairs, and, finding a vacancy in one corner of the room, I got into it, and he and a young lad piled up some boards in front of me to shield me from observation. In a few minutes several ruffians broke into the chamber, who seized Mr. C. in a rough manner, and led him out to the view of the mob, saying, "This is not Garrison, but Garrison's and Thompson's friend, and he says he knows where Garrison is, but won't tell." Then a shout of exultation was raised by the mob, and what became of him I do not know ; though, as I was immediately discovered, I presume he escaped without material injury.

On seeing me, three or four of the rioters, uttering a yell, furiously dragged me to the window, with the intention of hurling me from that height to the ground ; but one of them relented and said — "Don't let us kill him outright." So they drew me back, and coiled a rope about my body — probably to drag me through the streets. I bowed to the mob, and, requesting them to wait patiently until I could descend, went down upon a ladder that was raised for that purpose. I fortunately extricated myself from the rope, and was seized by two or three powerful men, to whose firmness, policy and muscular energy I am probably indebted for my preservation. They led me along bareheaded, (for I had lost my hat), through a mighty crowd, ever and anon shout-

Liberator in Boston, and continued to publish it for thirty-five years, until the abolition of slavery was finally secured. The incident described below illustrates the kind of persecution to which he and men like him were exposed during this period. The Boston mob was occasioned by a meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, on Oct. 21, 1835, at which it was rumored that the English abolitionist,

Thompson, was to speak. Garrison's account is a good sample of his vigorous style of writing.—

For Garrison, see *Life of Garrison by his Children* (4 vols.).

— For anti-abolition mobs, see *Contemporaries*, III, ch.

The sign

"Anti-Slavery Rooms," exciting the fury of the mob, was at their demand promptly given them by the mayor, and was instantly broken into fragments.

"J—R—C—" = John Reid Campbell.

Garrison always represented the report that the rope was about his neck.

ing, "He shan't be hurt! You shan't hurt him! Don't hurt him! He is an American," &c., &c. This seemed to excite sympathy among many in the crowd, and they reiterated the cry, "He shan't be hurt!" I was thus conducted through Wilson's Lane into State Street, in the rear of the City Hall, over the ground that was stained with the blood of the first martyrs in the cause of LIBERTY and INDEPENDENCE, by the memorable massacre of 1770—and upon which was proudly unfurled, only a few years since, with joyous acclamations, the beautiful banner presented to the gallant Poles by the young men of Boston! . . .

Orders were now given to carry me to the Mayor's office in the City Hall. As we approached the south door, the Mayor attempted to protect me by his presence; but as he was unassisted by any show of authority or force, he was quickly thrust aside—and now came a tremendous rush on the part of the mob to prevent my entering the Hall. For a moment, the conflict was dubious—but my sturdy supporters carried me safely up to the Mayor's room. . . .

Having had my clothes rent asunder, one individual kindly lent me a pair of pantaloons—another, a coat—a third, a stock—a fourth, a cap as a substitute for my lost hat. After a consultation of fifteen or twenty minutes, the Mayor and his advisers came to the singular conclusion, that the building would be endangered by my continuing in it, and that the preservation of my life depended upon committing me to jail, ostensibly as a disturber of the peace!! A hack was got in readiness at the door to receive me—and, supported by Sheriff Parkman and Ebenezer Bailey, Esq. (the Mayor leading the way), I succeeded in getting into it without much difficulty, as I was not readily identified in my new garb. Now came a scene that baffles the power of description. As the ocean, lashed into fury by the spirit of the storm, seeks towhelm the adventurous bark beneath its mountain waves—so did the mob, enraged by a series of

disappointments, rush like a whirlwind upon the frail vehicle in which I sat, and endeavor to drag me out of it. Escape seemed a physical impossibility. They clung to the wheels—dashed open the doors—seized hold of the horses—and tried to upset the carriage. They were, however, vigorously repulsed by the police—a constable sprang in by my side—the doors were closed—and the driver, lustily using his whip upon the bodies of his horses and the heads of the rioters, happily made an opening through the crowd, and drove at a tremendous speed for Leverett Street. But many of the rioters followed even with superior swiftness, and repeatedly attempted to arrest the progress of the horses. To reach the jail by a direct course was found impracticable; and after going in a circuitous direction, and encountering many “hair-breadth ‘scapes,” we drove up to this new and last refuge of liberty and life, when another bold attempt was made to seize me by the mob—but in vain. In a few moments I was locked up in a cell, safe from my persecutors, accompanied by two delightful associates, a good conscience and a cheerful mind.” . . .

[Wendell Phillips Garrison and Francis Jackson Garrison, editors,] *William Lloyd Garrison. 1805-1879. The Story of his Life told by his Children* (New York, 1885), II, 18-27 *passim.*



97. The Internal Slave-Trade (1834)

JUST as we reached New River, in the early grey of the morning, we came up with a singular spectacle, the most striking one of the kind I have ever witnessed. It was a camp of negro slave-drivers, just packing up to start; they had about three hundred slaves with them, who had bivouacked the preceding night *in chains* in the woods; these

By GEORGE
WILLIAM
FEATHER-
STONHAUGH
(1780-1866),
an English-
man,
who spent
many years
of his early
life in North
America.
Owing to his

extended knowledge of the country, the British government made him one of the commissioners to settle the boundaries of the United States under the Ashburton Treaty. In 1844 he published the book from which this extract is taken, in which he freely discusses the institution of slavery. His judgments, though severe, are fair-minded and discriminating.—For English travellers, see Tuckerman, *America and her Commentators*.—On the external slave-trade, see DuBois, *Suppression of the Slave-Trade*.—On the internal slave-trade, see *Contemporaries*, III, No.

"New River," a name given to the Great Kanawha in the upper

they were conducting to Natchez, upon the Mississippi River, to work upon the sugar plantations in Louisiana. . . . they had a caravan of nine waggons and single-horse carriages, for the purpose of conducting the white people, and any of the blacks that should fall lame, to which they were now putting the horses to pursue their march. The female slaves were, some of them, sitting on logs of wood, whilst others were standing, and a great many little black children were warming themselves at the fires of the bivouac. In front of them all, and prepared for the march, stood, in double files, about two hundred male slaves, *manacled and chained to each other*. I had never seen so revolting a sight before! Black men in fetters, torn from the lands where they were born, from the ties they had formed, and from the comparatively easy condition which agricultural labour affords, and driven by white men, with liberty and equality in their mouths, to a distant and unhealthy country, to perish in the sugar-mills of Louisiana, where the duration of life for a sugar-mill slave does not exceed seven years! To make this spectacle still more disgusting and hideous, some of the principal white slave-drivers, who were tolerably well dressed, and had broad-brimmed white hats on, *with black crape round them*, were standing near, laughing and smoking cigars. . . .

It was an interesting, but a melancholy spectacle, to see them effect the passage of the river: first, a man on horseback selected a shallow place in the ford for the male slaves; then followed a waggon and four horses, attended by another man on horseback. The other waggons contained the children and some that were lame, whilst the scows, or flat-boats, crossed the women and some of the people belonging to the caravan. There was much method and vigilance observed, for this was one of the situations where the gangs—always watchful to obtain their liberty—often show a disposition to mutiny, knowing that if one or two of them could

wrench their manacles off, they could soon free the rest, and either disperse themselves or overpower and slay their sordid keepers, and fly to the Free States. The slave-drivers, aware of this disposition in the unfortunate negroes, endeavour to mitigate their discontent by feeding them well on the march, and by encouraging them to sing "Old Virginia never tire," to the banjo.

part of its course.

. . . these gangs are accompanied by other negroes trained by the slave-dealers to drive the rest, whom they amuse by lively stories, boasting of the fine warm climate they are going to, and of the oranges and sugar which are there to be had for nothing : in proportion as they recede from the Free States, the danger of revolt diminishes, for in the Southern Slave-States all men have an interest in protecting this infernal trade of slave-driving, which, to the negro, is a greater curse than slavery itself, since it too often dissevers for ever those affecting natural ties which even a slave can form, by tearing, without an instant's notice, the husband from the wife, and the children from their parents ; sending the one to the sugar plantations of Louisiana, another to the cotton-lands of Arkansas, and the rest to Texas. . . .

The uncompromising obloquy which has been cast at the Southern planters, by their not too scrupulous adversaries, is . . . not deserved by them ; and it is but fair to consider them as only indirectly responsible for such scenes as arise out of the revolting traffic which is carried on by these sordid, illiterate, and vulgar slave-drivers — men who can have nothing whatever in common with the gentlemen of the Southern states. This land traffic, in fact, has grown out of the wide-spreading population of the United States, the annexation of Louisiana, and the increased cultivation of cotton and sugar. The fertile lowlands of that territory can only be worked by blacks, and are almost of illimitable extent. Hence negroes have risen greatly in price, from 500 to 1000

The slave-trader was despised by the slave-holder.

They rose
to \$1400 and
upwards
between 1850
and 1860.

dollars, according to their capacity. Slaves being thus in demand, a detestable branch of business—where sometimes a great deal of money is made—has very naturally arisen in a country filled with speculators. The soil of Virginia has gradually become exhausted with repeated crops of tobacco and Indian corn; and when to this is added the constant subdivision of property which has overtaken every family since the abolition of entails, it follows of course that many of the small proprietors, in their efforts to keep up appearances, have become embarrassed in their circumstances, and, when they are pinched, are compelled to sell a negro or two. The wealthier proprietors also have frequently fractious and bad slaves, which, when they cannot be reclaimed, are either put into jail, or into those depots which exist in all the large towns for the reception of slaves who are sold, until they can be removed. All this is very well known to the slave-driver, one of whose associates goes annually to the Southwestern States, to make his contracts with those planters there who are in want of slaves for the next season. These fellows then scour the country to make purchases. Those who are bought out of jail are always put in fetters, as well as any of those whom they may suspect of an intention to escape. The women and grown-up girls are usually sold into the cotton-growing States, the men and the boys to the rice and sugar plantations. Persons with large capital are actively concerned in this trade, some of whom have amassed considerable fortunes. But occasionally these dealers in men are made to pay fearfully the penalty of their nefarious occupation. I was told that only two or three months before I passed this way a “gang” had surprised their conductors when off their guard, and had killed some of them with axes.

G. W. Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion through the Slave States* (New York, 1844), 36–38 *passim*.

98. A Slave's Narrative (1844)

I AM about sixty-five years old. I was born near Edenton, North Carolina. My master was very kind to his slaves. If an overseer whipped them, he turned him away. He used to whip them himself sometimes, with hickory switches as large as my little finger. My mother nursed all his children. She was reckoned a very good servant ; and our mistress made it a point to give one of my mother's children to each of her own. I fell to the lot of Elizabeth, her second daughter. It was my business to wait upon her. Oh, my old mistress was a kind woman. She was all the same as a mother to poor Charity. If Charity wanted to learn to spin, she let her learn ; if Charity wanted to learn to knit, she let her learn ; if Charity wanted to learn to weave, she let her learn. I had a wedding when I was married ; for mistress didn't like to have *her* people take up with one another, without any minister to marry them. When my dear good mistress died, she charged her children never to separate me and my husband ; "For," said she, "if ever there was a match made in heaven, it was Charity and her husband." My husband was a nice good man ; and mistress knew we set stores by one another. Her children promised they never would separate me from my husband and children. Indeed, they used to tell me they would never sell me at all ; and I am sure they meant what they said. But my young master got into trouble. He used to come home and sit leaning his head on his hand by the hour together, without speaking to any body. I see something was the matter ; and I begged of him to tell me what made him look so worried. He told me he owed seventeen hundred dollars, that he could not pay ; and he was afraid he should have to go to prison. I begged him to sell me and my children, rather than to go to jail. I see

By CHARITY BOWERY
(born 1779).

This narrative of a slave woman, who had been freed by the will of her master and had afterward come North, gives a fairly typical, and not over-drawn, picture of the condition of a slave in the second quarter of this century. The narrative is simple and bears internal marks of sincerity.— See a bibliography of slave narratives in Siebert, *Underground Railroad.*—

Other narratives below,
No. 100;
Contemporaries. III,
Nos.

the tears come into his eyes. "I don't know, Charity," said he; "I'll see what can be done. One thing you may feel easy about; I will never separate you from your husband and children, let what will come."

Two or three days after, he come to me, and says he; "Charity, how should you like to be sold to Mr. Kinmore?" I told him I would rather be sold to him than to any body else, because my husband belonged to him. My husband was a nice good man, and we set stores by one another. Mr. Kinmore agreed to buy us; and so I and my children went there to live. He was a kind master; but as for mistress Kinmore, — she was a divil! Mr. Kinmore died a few years after he bought us; and in his Will he give me and my husband free; but I never knowed anything about it, for years afterward. I don't know how they managed it. My poor husband died, and *never* knowed that he was free. But it's all the same now. He's among the ransomed. . . .

In most cases the wives and daughters of large planters took a kindly interest in the slaves.

Sixteen children I've had, first and last; and twelve I've nursed for my mistress. From the time my first baby was born, I always set my heart upon buying freedom for some of my children. I thought it was of more consequence to them, than to me; for I was old, and used to being a slave. But mistress Kinmore wouldn't let me have my children. One after another — one after another — she sold 'em away from me. Oh, how *many* times that woman's broke my heart!

. . . I tried every way I could, to lay up a copper to buy my children; but I found it pretty hard; for mistress kept me at work all the time. It was "Charity! Charity! Charity!" from morning till night.

I used to do the washings of the family; and large washings they were. The public road run right by my little hut; and I thought to myself, while I stood there at the wash-tub, I might, just as well as not, be earning something to buy my children. So I set up a little oyster-board; and

when anybody come along, that wanted a few oysters and a cracker, I left my wash-tub and waited upon him. When I got a little money laid up, I went to my mistress and tried to buy one of my children. She knew how long my heart had been set upon it, and how hard I had worked for it. But she wouldn't let me have one! — She *wouldn't* let me have one! So, I went to work again; and set up late o' nights, in hopes I could earn enough to tempt her. When I had two hundred dollars, I went to her again; but she thought she could find a better market, and she wouldn't let me have one. At last, what do you think that woman did? She sold me and five of my children to the speculators! Oh, how I *did* feel, when I heard my children was sold to the speculators! . . .

Surely, ma'am, there's always some good comes of being kind to folks. While I kept my oyster-board, there was a thin, peaked-looking man, used to come and buy of me. Sometimes he would say, "Aunt Charity, (he always called me *Aunt Charity*,) you must fix me up a nice little mess, for I feel poorly to-day." I always made something good for him; and if he didn't happen to have any change, I always trusted him. He liked my messes mighty well.— Now, who do you think that should turn out to be, but the very speculator that bought me! He come to me, and says he, "Aunt Charity (he always called me *Aunt Charity*,) you've been very good to me, and fixed me up many a nice little mess, when I've been poorly; and now you shall have your freedom for it, and I'll give you your youngest child." . . .

Well . . . after that I concluded I'd come to the Free States. . . . Here I have taken in washing; and my daughter is smart at her needle; and we get a very comfortable living.

L[ydia] Maria Child, *Letters from New-York* (Second Series, New York, etc., 1845), 48-53 *passim*.

By JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER (1807-1892). Probably his youthful friendship with Garrison drew him early into the anti-slavery movement, in which, through both verse and prose, his pen did valiant service for the cause. In 1836 he became secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society; from 1847 to 1859 he contributed editorials to the anti-slavery *National Era*, in which *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was first printed. Whittier was interested in practical politics, and had much to do with the formation of the new Republican party in 1854. His burning verses had a wonderful effect on Northern public opinion.—See other anti-slavery

99. Farewell of a Slave Mother (1838)

GONE, gone — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone.

Where the slave-whip ceaseless swings,
Where the noisome insect stings,
Where the fever demon strews
Poison with the falling dews,
Where the sickly sunbeams glare
Through the hot and misty air,—

Gone, gone — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone,
From Virginia's hills and waters,—
Woe is me, my stolen daughters !

Gone, gone — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone.

There no mother's eye is near them,
There no mother's ear can hear them ;
Never, when the torturing lash
Seams their back with many a gash,
Shall a mother's kindness bless them,
Or a mother's arms caress them.

Gone, gone — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone,
From Virginia's hills and waters,—
Woe is me, my stolen daughters !

Gone, gone — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone.

Oh, when weary, sad, and slow,
From the fields at night they go,
Faint with toil, and racked with pain,
To their cheerless homes again —

There no brother's voice shall greet them —
There no father's welcome meet them.

Gone, gone — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone,
From Virginia's hills and waters, —
Woe is me, my stolen daughters !

Gone, gone — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone.
From the tree whose shadow lay
On their childhood's place of play —
From the cool spring where they drank —
Rock, and hill, and rivulet bank —
From the solemn house of prayer,
And the holy counsels there —
Gone, gone — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone,
From Virginia's hills and waters, —
Woe is me, my stolen daughters !

Gone, gone — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone —
Toiling through the weary day,
And at night the spoiler's prey.
Oh, that they had earlier died,
Sleeping calmly, side by side,
Where the tyrant's power is o'er,
And the fetter galls no more !

Gone, gone — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone,
From Virginia's hills and waters, —
Woe is me, my stolen daughters !

Gone, gone — sold and gone,
To the rice-swamp dank and lone.

poems in
Contemporar-
ries, III,
Nos.

The rice
plantations
were the most
unhealthful
of all the
places of
slave labor.

By the holy love He beareth—
 By the bruised reed He spareth—
 Oh, may He, to whom alone
 All their cruel wrongs are known,
 Still their hope and refuge prove,
 With a more than a mother's love.
 Gone, gone — sold and gone,
 To the rice-swamp dank and lone,
 From Virginia's hills and waters,—
 Woe is me, my stolen daughters !

John G. Whittier, *Poems* (Boston, 1849), 163-165.

By HENRY
BOX BROWN
(born 1816),
the phra-
seology of
whose narra-
tive was
undoubtedly
refined by the
person who
wrote down
his story for
him. This is
one of the
most thrilling
incidents in
the annals of
fugitive-
slave history.
The exped-
ient was not
entirely new,
however, for
as early as
1620 the cele-
brated Hugo
Grotius was
got out of
prison in a
similar way.
— Other
cases are

100. A Fugitive's Narrative (1848)

. . . **A**FTER searching for assistance for some time, I at length was so fortunate as to find a friend, who promised to assist me, for one half the money I had about me, which was one hundred and sixty-six dollars. I gave him eighty-six, and he was to do his best in forwarding my scheme. . . .

At length, after praying earnestly to Him, who seeth afar off, for assistance, in my difficulty, suddenly, as if from above, there darted into my mind these words, "Go and get a box, and put yourself in it." I pondered the words over in my mind. "Get a box?" thought I; "what can this mean?" But I was "not disobedient unto the heavenly vision," and I determined to put into practice this direction, as I considered it, from my heavenly Father. I went to the depot, and there noticed the size of the largest boxes, which commonly were sent by the cars, and returned with their dimensions. I then repaired to a carpenter, and induced him to make me a box of such a description as I wished, informing him

of the use I intended to make of it. He assured me I could not live in it ; but as it was dear liberty I was in pursuit of, I thought it best to make the trial.

When the box was finished, I carried it, and placed it before my friend, who had promised to assist me, who asked me if that was to "put my clothes in?" I replied that it was not, but to "*put Henry Brown in!*" He was astonished at my temerity ; but I insisted upon his placing me in it, and nailing me up, and he finally consented.

After corresponding with a friend in Philadelphia, arrangements were made for my departure, and I took my place in this narrow prison, with a mind full of uncertainty . . .

I laid me down in my darkened home of three feet by two, and like one about to be guillotined, resigned myself to my fate. My friend was to accompany me, but he failed to do so ; and contented himself with sending a telegraph message to his correspondent in Philadelphia, that such a box was on its way to his care.

I took with me a bladder filled with water to bathe my neck with, in case of too great heat ; and with no access to the fresh air, excepting three small gimblet holes, I started on my perilous cruise. I was first carried to the express office, the box being placed on its end, so that I started with my head downwards, although the box was directed, "this side up with care." From the express office, I was carried to the depot, and from thence tumbled roughly into the baggage car, where I *happened* to fall "right side up," but no thanks to my transporters. But after a while the cars stopped, and I was put aboard a steamboat, *and placed on my head*. In this dreadful position, I remained the space of an hour and a half, it seemed to me, when I began to feel of my eyes and head, and found to my dismay, that my eyes were almost swollen out of their sockets, and the veins on my temple seemed ready to burst. I made no noise however, determining to obtain "*victory or death,*" but endured the

cited in
McDougall,
*Fugitive
Slaves*, and
Siebert,
*Under-
ground Rail-
road.* —
Other narra-
tives are in
*Contempora-
ries*, III,
Nos.

terrible pain, as well as I could, sustained under the whole by the thoughts of sweet liberty. About half an hour afterwards, I attempted again to lift my hands to my face, but I found I was not able to move them. A cold sweat now covered me from head to foot. Death seemed my inevitable fate, and every moment I expected to feel the blood flowing over me, which had burst from my veins. One half hour longer and my sufferings would have ended in that fate, which I preferred to slavery; but I lifted up my heart to God in prayer, believing that he would yet deliver me, when to my joy, I overheard two men say, "We have been here *two* hours and have travelled twenty miles, now let us sit down, and rest ourselves." They suited the action to the word, and turned the box over, containing my soul and body, thus delivering me from the power of the grim messenger of death, who a few moments previously, had aimed his fatal shaft at my head, and had placed his icy hands on my throbbing heart. . . .

Soon after this fortunate event, we arrived at Washington, where I was thrown from the wagon and again as my luck would have it, fell on my head. I was then rolled down a declivity, until I reached the platform from which the cars were to start. During this short but rapid journey, my neck came very near being dislocated, as I felt it crack, as if it had snapped asunder. Pretty soon, I heard some one say, "there is no room for this box, it will have to remain behind." I then again applied to the Lord, my help in all my difficulties, and in a few minutes I heard a gentleman direct the hands to place it aboard, as "it came with the mail and must go on with it." I was then tumbled into the car, my head downwards again, as I seemed to be destined to escape on my head; a sign probably, of the opinion of American people respecting such bold adventurers as myself; that our heads should be held downwards, whenever we attempt to benefit ourselves. Not the only instance of

this propensity, on the part of the American people, towards the colored race. We had not proceeded far, however, before more baggage was placed in the car, at a stopping place, and I was again turned to my proper position. No farther difficulty occurred until my arrival at Philadelphia. I reached this place at three o'clock in the morning, and remained in the depot until six o'clock, A.M., at which time, a waggon drove up, and a person inquired for a box directed to such a place, "right side up." I was soon placed on this waggon, and carried to the house of my friend's correspondent, where quite a number of persons were waiting to receive me. They appeared to be some afraid to open the box at first, but at length one of them rapped upon it, and with a trembling voice, asked, "Is all right within?" to which I replied, "All right." The joy of these friends was excessive, and like the ancient Jews, who repaired to the re-building of Jerusalem, each one seized hold of some tool, and commenced opening my grave. At length the cover was removed, and I arose, and shook myself from the lethargy into which I had fallen; but exhausted nature proved too much for my frame, and I swooned away.

Charles Stearns, *Narrative of Henry Box Brown . . . written from a statement of facts made by himself* (Boston [1849]), 58-62 *passim*.

101. A Political Abolitionist (1845)

TO ALL FRIENDS OF LIBERTY, AND OF OUR COUNTRY'S
BEST INTERESTS.

FINALLY, we ask all true friends of liberty, of impartial, universal liberty, to be firm and steadfast. The little handful of voters, who, in 1840, wearied of compromising expediency, and despairing of anti-slavery action by pro-

By SALMON
PORTLAND
CHASE
(1808-1873),
one of the
founders of
the Liberty
party, author
of the plat-
form of that
party in 1843,
and of many
other anti-

slavery addresses; leading spirit in the Free-Soil convention of 1848; senator from Ohio, 1849-1855; governor of Ohio, 1856-1860; Secretary of the Treasury, 1861-1864; Chief Justice, 1865-1873. Chase was the most distinguished of the numerous Western and Eastern abolitionists who declined to follow Garrison's lead, and used their votes to accomplish their ends. The piece is one of many ringing political addresses of the period.—On Chase, see *American Orations*, III, 3, 333; *Contemporaries*, IV, No. 4.

—On the political movement against slavery, see *American Orations*, II, 3-32, 115-340; *Contemporaries*, IV, ch.

slavery parties, raised anew the standard of the Declaration, and manfully resolved to vote right then and vote for freedom, has already swelled to a GREAT PARTY, strong enough, numerically, to decide the issue of any national contest, and stronger far in the power of its pure and elevating principles. And if these principles be sound, which we doubt not, and if the question of slavery be, as we verily believe it is, the GREAT QUESTION of our day and nation, it is a libel upon the intelligence, the patriotism, and the virtue of the American people to say that there is no hope that a majority will not array themselves under our banner. Let it not be said that we are factious or impracticable. We adhere to our views because we believe them to be sound, practicable and vitally important. We have already said that we are ready to prove our devotion to our principles by co-operation with either of the other two great American Parties, which will openly and honestly, in State and National Conventions, avow our doctrines and adopt our measures, until slavery shall be overthrown. We do not, indeed, expect any such adoption and avowal by either of those parties, because we are well aware that they fear more, at present, from the loss of slaveholding support than from the loss of anti-slavery co-operation. But we can be satisfied with nothing less, for we will compromise no longer; and, therefore, must of necessity maintain our separate organization as the true Democratic Party of the country, and trust our cause to the patronage of the people and the blessing of God!

Carry then, friends of freedom and free labour, your principles to the ballot-box. Let no difficulties discourage, no dangers daunt, no delays dishearten you. Your solemn vow that slavery must perish is registered in heaven. Renew that vow! Think of the martyrs of truth and freedom; think of the millions of the enslaved; think of the other millions of the oppressed and degraded free; and renew that vow! Be not tempted from the path of political duty.

Vote for no man, act with no party politically connected with the supporters of slavery. Vote for no man, act with no party unwilling to adopt and carry out the principles which we have set forth in this address. To compromise for any partial or temporary advantage is ruin to our cause. To act with any party, or to vote for the candidates of any party, which recognises the friends and supporters of slavery as members in full standing, because in particular places or under particular circumstances, it may make large professions of anti-slavery zeal, is to commit political suicide. Unswerving fidelity to our principles; unalterable determination to carry those principles to the ballot-box at every election; inflexible and unanimous support of those, and only those, who are true to those principles, are the conditions of our ultimate triumph. Let these conditions be fulfilled, and our triumph is certain. The indications of its coming multiply on every hand. The clarion trump of freedom breaks already the gloomy silence of slavery in Kentucky, and its echoes are heard throughout the land. A spirit of inquiry and of action is awakened everywhere. The assemblage of the convention, whose voice we utter, is itself an auspicious omen. Gathered from the North and the South, and the East and West, we here unite our counsels, and consolidate our action. We are resolved to go forward, knowing that our cause is just, trusting in God. We ask you to go forward with us, invoking His blessing who sent his Son to redeem mankind. With Him are the issues of all events. He can and He will disappoint all the devices of oppression. He can, and we trust He will, make our instrumentality efficient for the redemption of our land from slavery, and for the fulfilment of our fathers' pledge in behalf of freedom, before Him and before the world.

[Salmon P. Chase,] *The Address of the Southern and Western Liberty Convention held at Cincinnati, June 11 & 12, 1845*
[no title-page; Philadelphia, 1845], 15.

CHAPTER XVI—TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT, 1841–1853

By CHARLES AUGUSTUS DAVIS (1795–1867), a New York merchant, who wrote cleverly on commercial and financial questions. His *Major Jack Downing Letters* first appeared in the *Commercial Advertiser* in 1834, and at once became very popular. Its humor, though keen, is never biting; Jackson himself liked to read it. The passage here given well takes off Jackson's autocratic temper in his relations to the Bank, of which Nicholas Biddle was president, and is at the same time an illustration of the newspaper

102. Jackson's Responsibility (1833)

‘BUT there is one thing, Major,’ says the Ginaler, ‘that I don’t see how Biddle can git round ; and that is, how he dares to take upon himself to do what only could be done by the Directors. Look at the Charter ; there it is as plain as A. B. C. He has no right to do a single thing, unless the Directors are all present, and agree to it.’ ‘Well,’ says I, ‘Ginaler, that is a puzzler ; and yet all the Bank folks say he does right ; and its more their business than ourn. And,’ says I, ‘Ginaler, come to think on’t, and the notion never struck me before, but I begin now to believe that Squire Biddle is a rale Jackson man.’ ‘Why,’ says he, ‘Major, you are as crazy as a mad rooster—how can you make that out?’ ‘Why,’ says I, ‘I do raly believe when the Squire did any thing without the Directors, he said, *I take the responsibility.*’ The Ginaler got up, stamp’d round a spell ; and, says he, ‘Major, you beat all natur.’ But this tickled the Ginaler considerable. ‘Well,’ says he, ‘Major, if I only knew he said so, I’d put all the deposits back again in the Bank to-morrow ; for I do like a man who aint afraid of responsibility.’

We come nigh havin a pretty considerable riot here last night. I and the Ginaler had been to bed about two hours, and had jest got threw talkin over matters, and got into a kinder doze, when we was startled by the tarnalest racket you ever hear tell on. The Ginaler jump’d right on eend,

and run and got his hickory, and I arter him, with the only thing I could get hold on handily—‘Never mind your Regimentals and Corderoys, Major,’ says he, and down stairs we went, side by side, and I a leetle ahead on him; — for I always like to lead into scrapes, and out of scrapes. There is a long room where the most of our folks git together, to talk over matters every night, and eat supper ; and sometimes they git into a kinder squabble, but keep quiet. But this time some how they was in a terrible takin and smashin things. They was all at it, Editors, and Auditors, and Secretaries’ Clerks, and under Post Masters, and Contractors, jawin and poundin one another, and Amos among the thickest on em. The Gineral look’d on for about a minit, and, says he, ‘Major, shall I go in, or will you? I don’t like to do it,’ says he, ‘for they have all done us much sarvice, but we cant let this riot go on.’ ‘Well,’ says I, ‘Gineral, do you give me your Hickory,’ and, says I, ‘I’ll go at ’em, and make short work.’ ‘Take care, Major,’ says he, ‘how you hit, and who you hit.’ ‘Never mind,’ says I, ‘Gineral, I’ll take the responsibility.’ ‘Will you,’ says he ; ‘well, here’s my Hickory ;— for,’ says he, ‘Major, tho’ I dare do eny most any thing, I must confess I dare not take *that* responsibility.’ And with that he went to bed, and I went at ’em, and such a time I never had. The first clip I made was at Amos,— but he dodged it, and I hit one of the Editors of the *Globe*, and nocked him about into the middle of next week.— One fellow got a fryin pan and made fight, but it was no use, for in less than a minit I cleared ’em all. As soon as they come to know who it was, they kinder tried to curry favor ; and one said one thing, and one another ; and every one tried to shuffle off upon the others ; it was a considerable spell before I could get the cause on’t ; and then it turn’d out that the dispute began about the public deposits, and the next President, and a new Bank, and Mr. Duane and Squire Biddle, and Mr. Van Buren,— and all

squibs of the day. “Major Jack Downing” is supposed to have been a good-humored caricature of Major Lewis, Jackson’s intimate friend and political adviser.— On Jackson, see *Contemporaries*, III, ch. .—On the Bank, see *American History Leaflets*, No. 24; *American History Studies*, No. II; *Contemporaries*, III, No. .

A phrase used by Jackson in a State paper.

Amos Kendall, Post-master-General.

The *Globe* was then a Jackson organ.

Duane, former Secretary of the Treasury.

Vice-President.

mixed up so, I couldn't make head nor tail on't. 'Now,' says I, 'my boys, make an eend on't:' and with that I slap'd the old Hickory down on the table, and I made their teeth chatter. 'My dander is up,' says I; 'and one word more and I'm down upon you. What,' says I, 'a riot here at midnight—aint it glory enuff for you,' says I, 'to sarve under the Gineral? If it ain't,' says I, 'then I'm mistaken, and Mr. Van Buren too,—for he thinks it is,—and I think so too. And now,' says I, 'no more jawin'—and I left them; and when I got back to the Gineral, I found him in a terrible takin'; and it was nigh upon day light afore we could git to sleep. He was all the while talkin about Amos Kindle, and the rest on 'em; and I do raly believe the Gineral would never have gone to sleep, unless I tell'd him I would stick by him; and whenever the folks about us got into a snarl, if he would only lend me his Hickory, 'I'd take the responsibility.'

Yours to Sarve,

J. DOWNING, Major,
Downingville Militia, 2d Brigade.

[Charles Augustus Davis,] *Letters of J. Downing, Major* (New York, 1834), 103-107.

By FRANCIS PARKMAN, JR. (1823-1893), greatest of American historians. In spite of the constant suffering attendant upon a long and wearying illness ended only by death, Park-

103. The Oregon Trail (1846)

WE were now arrived at the close of our solitary journeys along the St. Joseph's Trail. On the evening of the twenty-third of May we encamped near its junction with the old legitimate trail of the Oregon emigrants. . . . As we lay around the fire after supper, a low and distant sound, strange enough amid the loneliness of the prairie, reached our ears—peals of laughter, and the faint voices of men and women. For eight days we had

not encountered a human being, and this singular warning of their vicinity had an effect extremely wild and impressive.

About dark a sallow-faced fellow descended the hill on horseback, and splashing through the pool, rode up to the tents. He was enveloped in a huge cloak, and his broad felt-hat was weeping about his ears with the drizzling moisture of the evening. Another followed, a stout, square-built, intelligent-looking man, who announced himself as leader of an emigrant party, encamped a mile in advance of us. About twenty wagons, he said, were with him; the rest of his party were on the other side of the Big Blue. . . .

These were the first emigrants that we had overtaken, although we had found abundant and melancholy traces of their progress throughout the whole course of the journey. Sometimes we passed the grave of one who had sickened and died on the way. The earth was usually torn up, and covered thickly with wolf-tracks. Some had escaped this violation. One morning, a piece of plank, standing upright on the summit of a grassy hill, attracted our notice, and riding up to it, we found the following words very roughly traced upon it, apparently by a red-hot piece of iron:

MARY ELLIS.

DIED MAY 7th, 1845.

AGED TWO MONTHS.

man completed his task of describing the French occupation of America, and the struggles with the English. His exploring trip to the Rocky Mountains gave him a singular insight into Indian character. The piece is a remarkable bit of first-hand description by a master.

—See

Parkman's autobiography, in *Contemporaries*, IV, No.

—On Oregon, see above, No. 80; *Contemporaries*, III, ch.

Big Blue, a tributary of the Kansas.

Such tokens were of common occurrence. . . .

We were late in breaking up our camp on the following morning, and scarcely had we ridden a mile when we saw, far in advance of us, drawn against the horizon, a line of objects stretching at regular intervals along the level edge of the prairie. An intervening swell soon hid them from sight, until, ascending it a quarter of an hour after, we saw close before us the emigrant caravan, with its heavy white wagons

Overland emigration to Oregon began about 1842.

creeping on in their slow procession, and a large drove of cattle following behind. Half a dozen yellow-visaged Missourians, mounted on horseback, were cursing and shouting among them ; their lank angular proportions, enveloped in brown homespun, evidently cut and adjusted by the hands of a domestic female tailor. As we approached, they greeted us with the polished salutation : ‘ How are ye, boys ? Are ye for Oregon or California ? ’

As we pushed rapidly past the wagons, children’s faces were thrust out from the white coverings to look at us ; while the care-worn, thin-featured matron, or the buxom girl, seated in front, suspended the knitting on which most of them were engaged to stare at us with wondering curiosity. By the side of each wagon stalked the proprietor, urging on his patient oxen, who shouldered heavily along, inch by inch, on their interminable journey. It was easy to see that fear and dissension prevailed among them ; some of the men — but these, with one exception, were bachelors — looked wistfully upon us as we rode lightly and swiftly past, and then impatiently at their own lumbering wagons and heavy-gaited oxen. Others were unwilling to advance at all, until the party they had left behind should have rejoined them. Many were murmuring against the leader they had chosen, and wished to depose him ; and this discontent was fomented by some ambitious spirits, who had hopes of succeeding in his place. The women were divided between regrets for the homes they had left and apprehension of the deserts and the savages before them.

We soon left them far behind, and fondly hoped that we had taken a final leave ; but unluckily our companions’ wagon stuck so long in a deep muddy ditch, that before it was extricated the van of the emigrant caravan appeared again, descending a ridge close at hand. Wagon after wagon plunged through the mud ; and as it was nearly noon, and the place promised shade and water, we saw

Three English tourists who had joined Parkman and his friend.

with much gratification that they were resolved to encamp. Soon the wagons were wheeled into a circle ; the cattle were grazing over the meadow, and the men, with sour, sul- len faces, were looking about for wood and water. They seemed to meet with but indifferent success. As we left the ground, I saw a tall slouching fellow, with the nasal accent of 'down east,' contemplating the contents of his tin cup, which he had just filled with water.

'Look here, you,' said he ; 'it's chock full of animals !'

The cup, as he held it out, exhibited in fact an extraor-
dinary variety and profusion of animal and vegetable life.

Francis Parkman, Jr., *The California and Oregon Trail* (New York, etc., 1849), 70-73 *passim*.

104. A Satire on the Mexican War (1846)

By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL (1819-1891). Lowell's marriage in 1844 to Maria White, an earnest abolitionist, probably accentuated whatever leanings he may previously have had toward anti-slavery. *The Biglow Papers* originally ap- peared in the *Boston Courier* dur- ing the years 1846-1848. It is a series of poems writ- ten in the

THRASH away, you 'll *hev* to rattle
 On them kittle drums o' yourn,—
 'Taint a knowin' kind o' cattle
 Thet is ketched with mouldy corn ;
 Put in stiff, you fifer feller,
 Let folks see how spry you be,—
 Guess you 'll toot till you are yellor
 'Fore you git ahold o' me !

Thet air flag 's a leetle rotten,
 Hope it aint your Sunday's best ;—
 Fact ! it takes a sight o' cotton
 To stuff out a soger's chest :
 Sence we farmers *hev* to pay fer 't,
 Ef you must wear humps like these,
 Sposin' you should try salt hay fer 't,
 It would du ez slick ez grease.

Yankee dialect by "Mr. Hosea Biglow," edited with an "introduction, notes, glossary, and copious index, by Homer Wilbur, A.M." It was directed mainly against slavery and the Mexican war, though it reflected incidentally on many other existing abuses. Its influence on the anti-slavery movement was incalculably great.— For Lowell, see below, No. 126; *Contemporaries*, IV, No. — On the Mexican war, see *Contemporaries*, IV, ch.

Northern anti-slavery men strongly opposed the annexation of Texas and the Mexican war.

"T would n't suit them Southern fellers,
They 're a drefle grasin' set,
We must ollers blow the bellers
Wen they want their irons het ;
May be it 's all right ez preachin',
But *my* narves it kind o' grates,
Wen I see the overreachin'
O' them nigger-drivin' States.

Them thet rule us, them slave-traders,
Haint they cut a thunderin' swarth,
(Helped by Yankee renegaders,)
Thru the vartu o' the North !
We begin to think it 's nater
To take sarse an' not be riled ;—
Who 'd expect to see a tater
All on eend at bein' biled ?

Ez fer war, I call it murder,—
There you hev it plain an' flat ;
I don't want to go no furder
Than my Testyment fer that ;
God hez sed so plump an' fairly,
It 's ez long ez it is broad,
An' you 've gut to git up airly
Ef you want to take in God.

'Taint your eppyletts an' feathers
Make the thing a grain more right ;
'Taint afollerin' your bell-wethers
Will excuse ye in His sight ;
Ef you take a sword an' dror it,
An' go stick a feller thru,
Guv'ment aint to answer for it,
God 'll send the bill to you.

Wut 's the use o' meetin-goin'
 Every Sabbath, wet or dry,
 Ef it 's right to go amowin'
 Feller-men like oats an' rye?
 I dunno but wut it 's pooty
 Trainin' round in bobtail coats,—
 But it 's curus Christian dooty
 This ere cuttin' folks's throats.

They may talk o' Freedom's airy
 Tell they 're pupple in the face,—
 It 's a grand gret cemetary
 Fer the barthrights of our race ;
 They jest want this Californy
 So 's to lug new slave-states in
 To abuse ye, an' to scorn ye,
 An' to plunder ye like sin.

See below,
No. 106.

Aint it cute to see a Yankee
 Take sech everlastin' pains,
 All to git the Devil's thankee,
 Helpin' on 'em weld their chains?
 Wy, it 's jest ez clear ez figgers,
 Clear ez one an' one make two,
 Chaps thatet make black slaves o' niggers
 Want to make wite slaves o' you.

Tell ye jest the eend I 've come to
 Arter cipherin' plaguy smart,
 An' it makes a handy sum, tu,
 Any gump could larn by heart ;
 Laborin' man an' laborin' woman
 Hev one glory an' one shame,
 Ev'y thin' thatet 's done inhuman
 Injers all on 'em the same.

'Taint by turnin' out to hack folks
 You 're agoin' to git your right,
 Nor by lookin' down on black folks
 Coz you 're put upon by wite ;
 Slavery aint o' nary color,
 'Taint the hide thet makes it wus,
 All it keers fer in a feller
 'S jest to make him fill its pus.

Want to tackle *me* in, du ye ?
 I expect you 'll hev to wait ;
 Wen cold lead puts daylight thru ye
 You 'll begin to kal'late ;
 'Spouse the crows wun't fall to pickin'
 All the carkiss from your bones,
 Coz you helped to give a lickin'
 To them poor half-Spanish drones ?

Jest go home an' ask our Nancy
 Wether I 'd be sech a goose
 Ez to jine ye, — guess you 'd fancy
 The etarnal bung wuz loose !
 She wants me fer home consumption,
 Let alone the hay 's to mow, —
 Ef you 're arter folks o' gumption,
 You 've a darned long row to hoe.

Take them editors thet 's crowin'
 Like a cockerel three months old, —
 Don't ketch any on 'em goin',
 Though they *be* so blasted bold ;
Aint they a prime set o' fellers ?
 'Fore they think on 't they will sprout,
 (Like a peach thet 's got the yellers,)
 With the meanness bustin' out.

Wal, go 'long to help 'em stealin'
 Bigger pens to cram with slaves,
 Help the men that's ollers dealin'
 Insults on your fathers' graves ;
 Help the strong to grind the feeble,
 Help the many agin the few,
 Help the men that call your people
 Witewashed slaves an' peddlin' crew !

Massachusetts, God forgive her,
 She's akneelin' with the rest,
 She, that ought to ha' clung fer ever
 In her grand old eagle-nest ;
 She that ought to stand so fearless
 Wile the wracks are round her hurled,
 Holdin' up a beacon peerless
 To the oppressed of all the world !

Haint they sold your colored seamen ?
 Haint they made your env'y's wiz ?
Wut 'll make ye act like freemen ?
 Wut 'll git your dander riz ?
 Come, I 'll tell ye wut I 'm thinkin'
 Is our dooty in this fix,
 They 'd ha' done 't ez quick ez winkin'
 In the days o' seventy-six.

Clang the bells in every steeple,
 Call all true men to disown
 The tradoochers of our people,
 The enslavers o' their own ;
 Let our dear old Bay State proudly
 Put the trumpet to her mouth,
 Let her ring this messidge loudly
 In the ears of all the South :—

By "envoys"
 Lowell refers
 to Samuel
 Hoar's mis-
 sion to
 Charleston,
 1844.

"I 'll return ye good fer evil
 Much ez we frail mortils can,
 But I wun't go help the Devil
 Makin' man the cus o' man ;
 Call me coward, call me traiter,
 Jest ez suits your mean idees,—
 Here I stand a tyrant-hater,
 An' the friend o' God an' Peace !"

Many of the New England abolitionists thought a division of the Union the only way to free the North from responsibility for slavery.

Ef I 'd *my* way I hed ruther
 We should go to work an' part,—
 They take one way, we take t'other,—
 Guess it would n't break my heart ;
 Man hed ough' to put asunder
 Them thet God has noways jined ;
 An' I should n't gretly wonder
 Ef there 's thousands o' my mind.

[James Russell Lowell,] *The Biglow Papers* (Cambridge, 1848),
 3-II.

By REVER-
END WAL-
TER COLTON
(1797-1851),
a clergyman
who later
took up jour-
nalistic work.
In 1830 he
was ap-
pointed a
chaplain in
the navy.
In 1845 his
ship was or-
dered to Cali-
fornia, and
Colton be-
came alcalde
of Monterey,

105. At the Gold Fields (1848)

... WE met a company of Californians about mid-day, on their return from the mines, and a more forlorn looking group never knocked at the gate of a pauper asylum. They were most of them dismounted, with rags fastened round their blistered feet, and with clubs in their hands, with which they were trying to force on their skeleton animals. They inquired for bread and meat: we had but little of either, but shared it with them. They took from one of their packs a large bag of gold, and began to shell out a pound or two in payment. We told them they were welcome; still they seemed anxious to pay, and we were

obliged to be positive in our refusal. This company, as I afterwards ascertained, had with them over a hundred thousand dollars in grain gold. . . .

SUNDAY, OCT. 1. Another Sabbath, and our first in the mines. But here and there a digger has resumed his work. With most it is a day of rest, not so much perhaps from religious scruples, as a conviction that the system requires and must have repose. . . .

MONDAY, OCT. 2. I went among the gold-diggers; found half a dozen at the bottom of the ravine, tearing up the bogs, and up to their knees in mud. Beneath these bogs lay a bed of clay, sprinkled in spots with gold. These deposits, and the earth mixed with them, were shovelled into bowls, taken to a pool near by, and washed out. The bowl, in working, is held in both hands, whirled violently back and forth through half a circle, and pitched this way and that sufficiently to throw off the earth and water, while the gold settles to the bottom. The process is extremely laborious, and taxes the entire muscles of the frame. In its effect it is more like swinging a scythe than any work I ever attempted. . . .

There are about seventy persons at work in this ravine, and all within a few yards of each other. They average about one ounce per diem each. They who get less are discontented, and they who get more are not satisfied. Every day brings in some fresh report of richer discoveries in some quarter not far remote, and the diggers are consequently kept in a state of feverish excitement. One woman, a Sonoranian, who was washing here, finding at the bottom of her bowl only the amount of half a dollar or so, hurled it back again into the water, and straightening herself up to her full height, strode off with the indignant air of one who feels himself insulted. . . .

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 4. Our camping-ground is in a broad ravine through which a rivulet wanders, and which is dotted

building the first school-house and establishing the first newspaper in California. In a letter to the *North American* he made the first public announcement of the discovery of gold in that region. His is a most realistic account of the conditions of life at the gold fields in the early days.—On California, see *Contemporaries*, IV, ch.

A native of Sonora, a town about ninety miles southeast of Sacramento.

with the frequent tents of gold-diggers. The sounds of the crowbar and pick, as they shake or shiver the rock, are echoed from a thousand cliffs . . . If you want to find men prepared to storm the burning threshold of the infernal prison, go among gold-diggers.

The provisions with which we left San José are gone, and we have been obliged to supply ourselves here. We pay at the rate of four hundred dollars a barrel for flour; four dollars a pound for poor brown sugar, and four dollars a pound for indifferent coffee. And as for meat, there is none to be got except jerked-beef, which is the flesh of the bullock cut into strings and hung up in the sun to dry, and which has about as much juice in it as a strip of bark dangling in the wind from a dead tree. Still, when moistened and toasted, it will do something towards sustaining life; so also will the sole of your shoe. And yet I have seen men set and grind it as if it were nutritious and sweetly flavored. . . .

THURSDAY, Oct. 5. The rivulet, which waters the ravine, collects here and there into deep pools. Over one of these a low limb had thrown itself, upon which I ventured out with an apparatus for scooping up the sand at the bottom. But just as I had lowered my dipper the limb broke, and down I went to the chin in water. It was some minutes before I could extricate myself, and when I did there was not a dry thread on my body. The chill of the stream reduced the gold fever in me very considerably. I had brought no outward garments but those in which I stood; I wrung out the water and hung them up in the sun to dry, and wound myself, like an Indian, in my blanket. But I was not more savage in my aspect than in my feelings. This, however, soon passed off, and I could laugh with others at the gold plunge. But nothing is a novelty here for more than a minute; were a man to cast his skin or lose his head, no one would stop to inquire if he had recovered either, unless they suspected foul play, and then they would arraign and

execute the culprit before one of our lawyers could pen an indictment.

FRIDAY, OCT. 6. The most efficient gold-washer here is the cradle, which resembles in shape that appendage of the nursery, from which it takes its name. It is nine or ten feet long, open at one end and closed at the other. At the end which is closed, a sheet-iron pan, four inches deep, and sixteen over, and perforated in the bottom with holes, is let in even with the sides of the cradle. The earth is thrown into the pan, water turned on it, and the cradle, which is on an inclined plane, set in motion. The earth and water pass through the pan, and then down the cradle, while the gold, owing to its specific gravity, is caught by cleets fastened across the bottom. Very little escapes; it generally lodges before it reaches the last cleft. It requires four or five men to supply the earth and water to work such a machine to advantage. The quantity of gold washed out must depend on the relative proportion of gold in the earth. The one worked in this ravine yields a hundred dollars a day; but this is considered a slender result. Most of the diggers use the bowl or pan; its lightness never embarrasses their roving habits; and it can be put in motion wherever they may find a stream or spring. It can be purchased now in the mines for five or six dollars; a few months since it cost an ounce — sixteen dollars for a wooden bowl! But I have seen twenty-four dollars paid for a box of seidlitz-powders, and forty dollars for as many drops of laudanum.

Reverend Walter Colton, *Three Years in California* (New York, etc., 1852), 271-281 *passim*.

106. Compromise of 1850

. . . I BELIEVE that the crisis of the crisis has arrived; and the fate of the measures which have been reported by the committee will, in my humble

By SENATOR
HENRY
CLAY (1777-
1852). On
January 29,
1850, Clay
brought for-
ward in the

Senate his "comprehensive scheme of compromise," which included seven provisions; April 18, 1850, it was referred to a special committee, of which Clay was made chairman. This committee reported three bills, one of them being the celebrated "Omnibus Bill." This latter was defeated; but after an arduous struggle the substance of Clay's proposal was embodied in successive single acts, which taken together are known as the "Compromise of 1850." — On Clay, see *American Orations*, I, 376; *Contemporaries*, IV, No. . — On the Compromise, see below, No. 108; *American Orations*, II, 123-218; *Contemporaries*, IV, ch. ; Ameri-

judgment, determine the fate of the harmony or continued distraction of this country. . . .

. . . I think, if the President had at this time to make a recommendation to Congress, with all the lights that have been shed upon the subject since the commencement of the present session of Congress, nearly five months ago, he would not limit himself to a recommendation merely for the admission of California, leaving the territories to shift for themselves as they could or might. He tells us in one of these messages . . . that he had reason to believe that one of these territories, at least New Mexico, might possibly form a State government for herself, and might come here with an application for admission during the progress of this session. But we have no evidence that such an event is about to happen; and if it did, could New Mexico be admitted as a State? . . .

. . . the committee recommend the union of these three measures. . . . a bill for the admission of California; a bill establishing a territorial government in Utah; a bill establishing a territorial government for New Mexico; and, what is indispensable, if we give her a government, a bill providing what shall be her boundary, provided Texas shall accede to the liberal proposal made to her? Is there anything, I ask, incongruous in all this? Where is it? What is the incongruity? . . .

. . . Amongst other limitations, it declares "that the territorial legislature shall have no power to pass any law [law] in respect to African slavery." . . . My opinion is, that the law of Mexico, in all the variety of forms in which legislation can take place — that is to say, by the edict of a dictator, by the constitution of the people of Mexico, by the act of the legislative authority of Mexico — by all these modes of legislation, slavery has been abolished there. I am aware that some other Senators entertain a different opinion; but . . . I feel authorized to say that the opinion of a vast majority

of the people of the United States, of a vast majority of the jurists of the United States, is in coincidence with that which I entertain; that is to say, that at this moment, by law and in fact, there is no slavery there. . . .

The next subject upon which the committee acted was that of fugitive slaves. The committee have proposed two amendments to be offered to the bill introduced by the Senator from Virginia, whenever that bill is taken up. The first of these amendments provides that the owner of a fugitive slave, when leaving his own State, and whenever it is practicable . . . shall carry with him a record from the State from which the fugitive has fled; which record shall contain an adjudication of two facts, first, the fact of slavery, and secondly the fact of an elopement; and, in the third place, such a general description of the slave as the court shall be enabled to give upon such testimony as shall be brought before it . . .

. . . The other amendment provides, that when the owner of a slave shall arrest his property in a non-slave-holding State, and shall take him before the proper functionary to obtain a certificate to authorize the return of that property to the State from which he fled, if he [*i.e.* the fugitive] declares to that functionary at the time that he is a free man and not a slave, what does the provision require the officer to do? Why, to take a bond from the agent or owner, without surety, that he will carry the black person back to the county of the State from which he fled; and that at the first court which may sit after his return, he [*the alleged slave*] shall be carried there, if he again assert the right to his freedom; the court shall afford, and the owner shall afford to him all the facilities which are requisite to enable him to establish his right to freedom. . . .

*Appendix to the Congressional Globe, 31 Cong., 1 sess. (Washington, 1850), XXII, Part I, 567-572 *passim*.*

*can History
Studies, II,*

The Presi-
dent was
Zachary
Taylor.

Clay argues
that, since
New Mexico
is free, the
new terri-
tories will be
free.

James M.
Mason.
I.e. a judicial
statement.

This was
intended to
meet the ob-
jection that
there was no
trial by jury
to ascertain
whether a
negro
claimed was
really a
fugitive.

CHAPTER XVII—SLAVERY CONTEST, 1851–1860

107. The Rescue of Shadrach (1851)

By RICHARD
HENRY
DANA, JR.
(1815–1882),
one of the
early Free-
Soilers and
“Conscience
Whigs,” and
an original
Republican.
He lent his
professional
skill to the
anti-slavery
cause, later
defending
the fugitives
Thomas
Sims and
Anthony
Burns, and
the rescuers
of Shadrach,
who escaped
to Canada.
The follow-
ing extract
from his
diary tells the
story of the
rescue.
Dana lost
social pres-
tige by thus
taking up the
cause of the
slave.—For
fugitives, see
above, No.
100; *Contem-
poraries*, IV,
ch.

. . . WHILE in my office at about 10.30 A.M. [Feb. 15, 1851], Charles Davis, Parker, and others came in and told me that the marshal had a fugitive slave in custody, in the United States court room before Mr. George T. Curtis as commissioner. I went immediately over to the court-house. Mr. Curtis was on the bench, actually occupying the judge's seat; Pat. Riley, the deputy marshal, with his two regular deputies and two constables, sworn in as special deputies, were in charge of the room; a good-looking black fellow, sitting between the two subs, was the arrested fugitive. The arrest had been so sudden and unexpected that few knew it, and it was half an hour before the crowd assembled, but it was increasing every minute, and there was great excitement. I went to the marshal's office and prepared a writ of *de homine replegiando* and a petition for a *habeas corpus* addressed to Chief Justice Shaw. . . . With this petition I called on the Chief Justice, and stated to him that it was a case of an alleged fugitive slave, and that our object was to test the constitutional power of the commissioner to issue a warrant. The Chief Justice read the petition, and said in a most ungracious manner, “This won't do. I can't do anything on this,” and laid it upon the table, and turned away to engage in something else. (This interview was in the lobby of the supreme court room.) I asked him to be so good as to tell me what the defects were, saying that I had taken pains to conform

to the statute. He seemed unwilling to notice it, and desirous of getting rid of it; in short, he attempted to bluff me off. . . . I felt that all these objections were frivolous and invalid, but seeing the temper which the Chief Justice was in, and his evident determination to get rid of the petition, I left him for the purpose of either procuring the evidence he required, or of going before another judge. On reaching the court-room, I found that the commissioner was just adjourning the court to Tuesday, at ten A.M. As this gave us an abundance of time, we determined to consult upon the matter in the afternoon, and no further proceedings were had on the subject of the *habeas corpus*.

The prisoner remained in his seat, between two constables, and Pat. Riley was making the most absurd exhibition of pomposity in ordering people about, and clearing the court-room, and Mr. Curtis, dressed in a little brief authority, was swelling into the dignity of an arbiter of life and death, with a pomposity as ludicrous as that of Riley. At the order of the marshal all left the court-room quietly, except the officers and counsel, and when I left there were none else in the room, and the crowd in the entries and stairways and outside, though large and chiefly negroes, was perfectly peaceable.

I returned to my office and was planning with a friend the probable next proceedings, when we heard a shout from the court-house, continued into a yell of triumph, and in an instant after down the steps came two huge negroes bearing the prisoner between them with his clothes half torn off, and so stupefied by the sudden rescue and the violence of his dragging off that he sat almost dumb, and I thought had fainted; but the men seized him, and being powerful fellows hurried him through the square into Court Street, where he found the use of his feet, and they went off toward Cambridge, like a black squall, the crowd driving along with them and cheering as they went. It was all done in an instant, too quick to be believed, and so successful was it that

Dana's office
was at 30
Court Street,
opposite the
Court
House.

*De homine
replegiando*,
a writ by
which a per-
son may be
bailed out of
the custody
of another.

*Habeas
corpus*, a writ
requiring the
body of the
person to be
brought into
court.

Shadrach,
alias
Frederick
Jenkins.

not only was no negro arrested, but no attempt was made at pursuit.

The sympathy of the masses was with the successful rescue, though here and there was an old hunker, or a young dandy, or would-be-chivalry-man, who expressed anger at the failure of the "Peace Measures."

I.e. the Fugitive-Slave Act of 1850.

It seems that none of the officers were injured, except by being crowded into corners and held fast, and the sword of justice which Mr. Riley had displayed on his desk was carried off by an old negro.

On the trial of Shadrach's rescuers, the jury failed to agree, one of them being the man who had carried Shadrach across the line into Canada.

How can any right-minded man do else than rejoice at the rescue of a man from the hopeless, endless slavery to which a recovered fugitive is always doomed. If the law were constitutional, which I firmly believe it is not, it would be the duty of a citizen not to resist it by force, unless he was prepared for revolution and civil war; but we rejoice in the escape of a victim of an unjust law, as we would in the escape of an ill-treated captive deer or bird.

The conduct of the Chief Justice, his evident disinclination to act, the frivolous nature of his objections, and his insulting manner to me, have troubled me more than any other manifestation. It shows how deeply seated, so as to affect, unconsciously I doubt not, good men like him, is this selfish hunkerism of the property interest on the slave question.

Charles Francis Adams, *Richard Henry Dana* (Boston, etc., 1890), I, 179-183 *passim*.



108. A Criticism of the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854)

. . . THE bill, or bills before us, undertake to accomplish their object without professing it — upon reasons which are contradictory and unfounded — in

By THOMAS HART BENTON (1782-1858), from a speech in the House of Representatives, April 25, 1854.

terms which are ambiguous and inconsistent — and by throwing on others the responsibility of its own act. It professes not to interfere with the sovereign right of the people to legislate for themselves ; and the very first line of this solemn profession throws upon them a horse-load of law, which they have no right to refuse, or time to read, or money to purchase, or ability to understand. It throws upon them all the laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable ; and that comprehends all that are not specially made for other places : also, it gives them the Constitution of the United States, but without the privilege of voting at presidential or congressional elections, or of making their own judiciary. This is non-interference with a vengeance. . . . Sir, it is the crooked, insidious, and pusillanimous way of effecting the repeal of the Missouri compromise line. It includes all law for the sake of leaving out one law ; and effects a repeal by an omission, and legislates by an exception. It is a new way of repealing a law, and a bungling attempt to smuggle slavery into the Territory, and all the country out to the Canada line and up the Rocky Mountains. The crooked line of this smuggling process is this : “abolish the compromise line, and extend the Constitution over the country : the Constitution recognizes slavery : therefore, slavery is established as soon as the line is abolished, and the Constitution extended : and being put there by the Constitution, it cannot be legislated out.” This is the English of this smuggling process . . .

And what is all this hotch-potch for? It is to establish a principle, they say — the principle of non-intervention — of squatter sovereignty. Sir, there is no such principle. The Territories are the children of the States. They are minors under twenty-one years of age ; and it is the business of the States, through their delegations in Congress, to take care of these minors until they are of age — until they are ripe for State government — then give them that government, and admit

Benton had lost his seat in the Senate in 1850 because not a thick-and-thin slavery man. Although a Southern man and a supporter of the candidacy of James Buchanan against his own son-in-law, John C. Frémont, Benton was a strong opponent of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. His speech on the measure was a most important one, by the effect on public opinion of the honest protest of a Southern man. Some of the more striking expressions have been often quoted by contemporary speakers, and later by standard historians.— On Benton, see *Contemporaries*, III, No. . — On the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, see *American*

History Leaflets, No. 17;
Contemporaries, IV, ch.

American History Studies, II,
No. 8.

The bill asserted that the Missouri Compromise (see above, No. 91) had been repealed by the Compromise of 1850 (see above, No. 106).

Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

1820.

1848.

1850.

1850.

1849.

them to an equality with their fathers. That is the law, and the sense of the case ; and has been so acknowledged since the first ordinance in 1784, by all authorities, Federal and State, legislative, judicial, and executive. . . .

I object to this shilly-shally, willy-won'ty, don'ty-can'ty style of legislation. It is not legislative. It is not parliamentary. It is not manly. It is not womanly. No woman would talk that way. No shilly-shally in a woman. Nothing of the female gender was ever born young enough, or lived long enough to get befogged in such a quandary as this. It is one thing or the other with them ; and what they say they stick to. No breaking bargains with them. . . .

And now what is the excuse for all this disturbance of the country ; this breaking up of ancient compromises ; arraying one half of the Union against the other, and destroying the temper and business of Congress? What is the excuse for all this turmoil and mischief? We are told it is to keep the question of slavery out of Congress ! To keep slavery out of Congress ! . . . It was out of Congress ! completely, entirely, and forever out of Congress, unless Congress dragged it in by breaking down the sacred laws which settled it. The question was settled, and done with. There was not an inch square of territory in the Union on which it could be raised without a breach of a compromise. The ordinance of '89 settled it in all the remaining part of the Northwest Territory beyond Wisconsin : the compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ settled it in all country north and west of Missouri to the British line, and up to the Rocky Mountains : the organic act of Oregon, made by the people, and sanctioned by Congress, settled it in all that region : the acts for the government of Utah and New Mexico settled it in those two Territories : the compact with Texas, determining the number of slave States to be formed out of that State, settled it there : and California settled it for herself. Now, where was there an inch square of territory within the United

States on which the question could be raised? Nowhere! Not an inch! The question was settled everywhere, not merely by law, but by fact. The work was done, and there was no way to get at the question but by undoing the work! No way for Congress to get the question in, for the purpose of keeping it out, but to break down compromises which kept it out.

*Appendix to the Congressional Globe, 33 Cong., 1 sess. (New Series, Washington, 1854), XXXI, 559-560 *passim*.*

109. Troubles in Kansas (1855)

I CAME into this Territory late in September, 1854, and have ever since resided in this town and district. I was here on the 30th of March, at the legislative election.

On the day previous to the election a number of teams and wagons loaded with armed men, and men on horseback, came into town. They were strangers here; they came in from the south and south-west, and were preceded by two or three men, one of whom was subsequently called or passed as Colonel Samuel Young, of Missouri, who appeared to be the chief in command. I think "colonel" was his designation. They proceeded through the town, down on the bank of the river, and looked around for a time with the intention, as they stated, of encamping there that night. They had tents, and were armed; I saw private arms, and I saw rifles and other arms of that kind, double-barrelled shot-guns, revolvers, and knives. I saw them encamped, and partaking of their provisions or refreshments; but whether they brought them with them or not I do not know. The strangers continued to come in during the evening, and next morning there had been a very large addition made to their number.

By ERASTUS D. LADD, a candidate on the Free-State ticket in many of the disputed elections in Kansas. He later served his State in many public offices of trust. This piece is from his evidence before a congressional committee of investigation, April 25, 1856, and is valuable as a temperate account from an eye-witness of what actually took place on March 30, 1855, memorable as the date of the election which began the struggle between the

anti-slavery
and pro-
slavery par-
ties for the
control of
Kansas.—
On Kansas,
see *American
Orations*,
III, 88; *Con-
temporaries*,
IV, ch.

The issue
was the
choice of a
territorial
legislature.

I went to the place of voting in the morning, and was there at the opening of the polls, and remained all day, except time for dinner. A very large company came from the camp in the ravine to the place of voting and surrounded it. There was some difficulty in the organization of the board, and delay in commencing the voting. Mr. Abbott, one of the judges, resigned. A vote was offered, which I saw, and a question of the legality of the vote was raised and was discussed some time. During the discussion Colonel Young said he would settle the matter. He crowded up to the front, the place being thronged with people. The other vote was then withdrawn and he offered his vote. The question was raised as to the legality of his vote. He said he was ready to swear that he was a resident of the Territory. He took such an oath, but refused the oath prescribed by the governor. But one of the judges appointed by the governor was then acting. His oath was received. He then mounted the window-sill and proclaimed to the crowd around that the matter was all settled and they could vote. I cannot repeat his exact words, but that was the sentiment; and they proceeded to vote. R. A. Cummins was appointed in the place of Abbott. At noon I went to their camp, and passed along the ravine from one extremity to the other, and counted the number of wagons and conveyances of different kinds then on the ground and in sight. They had then commenced leaving. I counted very near one hundred conveyances, such as wagons and carriages. There were, besides, a large number of saddle horses. I estimate that there were then on the ground about seven hundred of the party; in the estimate I do not include those who had left for other places or for home. . . .

. . . I heard a conversation a short distance from where I stood, and approached pretty nearly. I stepped up on a small rise of ground and saw quite a violent contest going on, of which Mr. Stearns of this place was the object. It

was a contest of words and threats but not of blows or force ; while it was going on, I heard some one cry out "There is the Lawrence bully." A rush was immediately made in another direction, towards Mr. Bond of this town, and a cry was raised to shoot him . . . He ran for the bank of the river, and the crowd followed him. During the running I think one or two shots were fired. When he got to the bank of the river, he sprang off out of sight. They rushed to the bank, and guns were pointed at him while below. But the cry was raised to let him go, and he was permitted to go on without being fired at.

Another circumstance occurred in the latter part of the day. Mr. Willis, who was then a resident of this town, was on the ground, and a cry was raised that he was one of the men concerned in abducting a black woman about which there had been some difficulty in the town a short time previous. Several men raised the cry to hang him. Some were on horseback, and some were on foot. Movements were made towards him by strangers armed with rifles and smaller arms. The cry was repeated by a large number of persons to "hang him," "get a rope," &c. At the suggestion of some friends he left the ground. . . .

In frequent conversations which I had with different persons of the party during the day, they claimed to have a legal right to vote in the Territory, and that they were residents by virtue of their being then in the Territory. They said they were free to confess that they came from Missouri ; that they lived in Missouri, and voted as Missourians. Some claimed that they had been in the Territory and made claims, and therefore had a right to vote. But they did not claim to be residents in the Territory, except that they had a residence here from being at that moment in the Territory.

House of Representatives, *Report of the Special Committee appointed to investigate the Troubles in Kansas* (Report No. 200, Washington, 1856), 114-116 *passim*.

By JUSTICE
JOHN
MCLEAN
of Ohio
(1785-1861),
appointed
associate jus-
tice of the
Supreme
Court by
Andrew
Jackson.
His most
celebrated
opinion,
from which
selections are
given below,
is that in
which he
dissents from
Chief Justice
Taney's de-
cision on the
Dred Scott
case. The
issue was the
question of
the freedom
of a slave,
Dred Scott,
taken by his
master into
Illinois and
the Louisi-
ana cession
above 30° 30'
(after 1820),
and then
taken back to
Missouri.
The court
held that
Scott could
not sue be-
fore it, be-
cause a
negro could
not be a citi-
zen; and
also that the
Missouri
Compro-
mise was no

110. The Dred Scott Decision (1856)

IF the great and fundamental principles of our Government are never to be settled, there can be no lasting prosperity. The Constitution will become a floating waif on the billows of popular excitement.

The prohibition of slavery north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, and of the State of Missouri, contained in the act admitting that State into the Union, was passed by a vote of 134, in the House of Representatives, to 42. Before Mr. Monroe signed the act, it was submitted by him to his Cabinet, and they held the restriction of slavery in a Territory to be within the constitutional powers of Congress. It would be singular, if in 1804 Congress had power to prohibit the introduction of slaves in Orleans Territory from any other part of the Union, under the penalty of freedom to the slave, if the same power, embodied in the Missouri compromise, could not be exercised in 1820.

But this law of Congress, which prohibits slavery north of Missouri and of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, is declared to have been null and void by my brethren. And this opinion is founded mainly, as I understand, on the distinction drawn between the ordinance of 1787 and the Missouri compromise line. In what does the distinction consist? The ordinance, it is said, was a compact entered into by the confederated States before the adoption of the Constitution; and that in the cession of territory authority was given to establish a Territorial Government. . . .

It is said the Territories are common property of the States, and that every man has a right to go there with his property. This is not controverted. But the court say a slave is not property beyond the operation of the local law which makes him such. Never was a truth more authoritatively and justly uttered by man. Suppose a master of a slave in a British

island owned a million of property in England ; would that authorize him to take his slaves with him to England ? The Constitution, in express terms, recognises the *status* of slavery as founded on the municipal law : "No person held to service or labor in one State, *under the laws thereof*, escaping into another, shall," &c. Now, unless the fugitive escape from a place where, by the municipal law, he is held to labor, this provision affords no remedy to the master. What can be more conclusive than this ? Suppose a slave escape from a Territory where slavery is not authorized by law, can he be reclaimed ?

In this case, a majority of the court have said that a slave may be taken by his master into a Territory of the United States, the same as a horse, or any other kind of property. It is true, this was said by the court, as also many other things, which are of no authority. Nothing that has been said by them, which has not a direct bearing on the jurisdiction of the court, against which they decided, can be considered as authority. I shall certainly not regard it as such. The question of jurisdiction, being before the court, was decided by them authoritatively, but nothing beyond that question. A slave is not a mere chattel. He bears the impress of his Maker, and is amenable to the laws of God and man ; and he is destined to an endless existence.

Benjamin C. Howard, *Report of the Decision of the Supreme Court of the United States . . . (Washington, 1857), 152-156 passim.*

bar, because it had always been unconstitutional.—On the Dred Scott case, see *American History Leaflets*, No. 23; *Contemporaries*, IV, No.

III. A Criticism of Lincoln (1858)

. . . LINCOLN now takes his stand and proclaims his Abolition doctrines. Let me read a part of them. In his speech at Springfield to the Convention, which nominated him for the Senate, he said :

By SENATOR
STEPHEN
A. DOUGLAS
(1813-1861).
Douglas is
one of the
most interest-
ing men in

the history of this period: a notable debater, a popular leader, strong, bold, and coarse, he made himself feared and hated; and he had a wonderful gift of explaining away his own record. The author of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (above, No. 108), he was greatly incensed at the coming-in of a Free-Soil majority in Kansas (above, No. 109); and the Dred Scott decision (above, No. 110) destroyed his popular-sovereignty doctrine by denying the power of anybody to prohibit slavery except in a State. In 1858, Douglas broke with Buchanan on the question of forcing the slave Le-compton constitution on Kansas. The Republicans tried

"In my opinion it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government *cannot endure permanently half Slave and half Free*. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved — I do not expect the house to fall — *but I do expect it will cease to be divided*. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery *will arrest the further spread of it*, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief *that it is in the course of ultimate extinction*: or its advocates *will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States* — old as well as new, North as well as South." [Cries of "good," "good," and cheers.]

I am delighted to hear you Black Republicans say "good." I have no doubt that doctrine expresses your sentiments, and I will prove to you now, if you will listen to me, that it is revolutionary and destructive of the existence of this Government. Mr. Lincoln, in the extract from which I have read, says that this Government cannot endure permanently in the same condition in which it was made by its framers — divided into free and slave States. He says that it has existed for about seventy years thus divided, and yet he tells you that it cannot endure permanently on the same principles and in the same relative condition in which our fathers made it. Why can it not exist divided into free and slave States? Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton, Jay, and the great men of that day, made this Government divided into free States and slave States, and left each State perfectly free to do as it pleased on the subject of slavery. Why can it not exist on the same principles on which our fathers made it? They knew when they framed the Constitution that in a country as wide and broad as this, with such a variety of climate, production and interest, the people necessarily required different laws and institutions in different localities. They knew that the laws and regulations

which would suit the granite hills of New Hampshire would be unsuited to the rice plantations of South Carolina, and they, therefore, provided that each State should retain its own Legislature and its own sovereignty, with the full and complete power to do as it pleased within its own limits, in all that was local and not national. One of the reserved rights of the States, was the right to regulate the relations between Master and Servant, on the slavery question. At the time the Constitution was framed, there were thirteen States in the Union, twelve of which were slaveholding States and one a free State. Suppose this doctrine of uniformity preached by Mr. Lincoln, that the States should all be free or all be slave had prevailed, and what would have been the result? Of course, the twelve slaveholding States would have overruled the one free State, and slavery would have been fastened by a Constitutional provision on every inch of the American Republic, instead of being left as our fathers wisely left it, to each State to decide for itself. Here I assert that uniformity in the local laws and institutions of the different States is neither possible or desirable. If uniformity had been adopted when the Government was established, it must inevitably have been the uniformity of slavery everywhere, or else the uniformity of negro citizenship and negro equality everywhere.

We are told by Lincoln that he is utterly opposed to the Dred Scott decision, and will not submit to it, for the reason that he says it deprives the negro of the rights and privileges of citizenship. That is the first and main reason which he assigns for his warfare on the Supreme Court of the United States and its decision. I ask you, are you in favor of conferring upon the negro the rights and privileges of citizenship? Do you desire to strike out of our State Constitution that clause which keeps slaves and free negroes out of the State, and allow the free negroes to flow in, and cover your prairies with black settlements? Do you desire to turn this

to prevent his reëlection to the Senate by putting forward Abraham Lincoln as their candidate in 1858; and this rivalry led to the famous joint debate between these two men, from which this speech is an extract.—On Douglas, see *American Orations*, III, 50, 345.—On the joint debate, see *Contemporaries*, III, Nos.

beautiful State into a free negro colony, in order that when Missouri abolishes slavery she can send one hundred thousand emancipated slaves into Illinois, to become citizens and voters, on an equality with yourselves? If you desire negro citizenship, if you desire to allow them to come into the State and settle with the white man, if you desire them to vote on an equality with yourselves, and to make them eligible to office, to serve on juries, and to adjudge your rights, then support Mr. Lincoln and the Black Republican party, who are in favor of the citizenship of the negro. For one, I am opposed to negro citizenship in any and every form. I believe this Government was made on the white basis. I believe it was made by white men, for the benefit of white men and their posterity for ever, and I am in favor of confining citizenship to white men, men of European birth and descent, instead of conferring it upon negroes, Indians, and other inferior races.

Political Debates between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, in . . . 1858 (Columbus, 1860), 70-71.

By CAPTAIN
JOHN
BROWN
"of Osawatomie" (1800-
1859). He
was very
early identi-
fied with anti-
slavery enter-
prises, hav-
ing formed
in 1850
the "League
of Gilead-
ites," pledged
to the rescue
of fugitives.
He took a
leading part

112. John Brown's Last Speech (1859)

I HAVE, may it please the Court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny every thing but what I have all along admitted—the design on my part to free the slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clear thing of that matter, as I did last winter, when I went into Missouri, and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again, on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection.

I have another objection: and that is, it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved — (for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case) — had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, either father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right, and every man in this Court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

This Court acknowledges, as I suppose, the validity of the Law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or, at least, the New Testament. That teaches me that all things “ whatsoever I would that men should do unto me I should do even so to them.” It teaches me further, to “ remember them that are in bonds as bound with them.” I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say, I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done, in behalf of His despised poor, was not wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children, and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments — I submit: so let it be done.

Let me say one word further.

I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected. But I feel no consciousness of guilt. I have stated from the first what was my intention and what was not. I never had any design against the life of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason,

in the struggles in Kansas (see above, No. 109), and his efforts culminated in the seizure of the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, October 16, 1859. He was captured, tried, and executed. This speech was made at the close of the trial, November 1, 1859, in answer to the customary question of the judge to the prisoner as to whether he had anything to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon him. It gives the best insight that we have into the motives of this strange, noble-minded man, half fanatic, half martyred hero.—On John Brown, see *Contemporaries*, IV, No.

or excite slaves to rebel, or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind.

Let me say, also, a word in regard to the statements made by some of those connected with me. I hear it has been stated by some of them that I have induced them to join me. But the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. There is not one of them but joined me of his own accord, and the greater part at their own expense. A number of them I never saw, and never had a word of conversation with, till the day they came to me, and that was for the purpose I have stated.

Now I have done.

James Redpath, *The Public Life of Capt. John Brown* (Boston, 1860), 340-342.

By ALEX-
ANDER
HAMILTON
STEPHENSONS
(1812-1883),
vice-presi-
dent of the
Confederacy.
Stephens was
extremely
slow in
adopting the
doctrine of
States' rights; in
1850 he op-
posed the
secession
movement in
the South;
and in 1860
he supported
Stephen A.
Douglas (see
above, No.
111) as presi-
dential can-

113. Slavery the Corner-Stone of the Confederacy (1861)

. . . THE new constitution has put at rest, *forever*, all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution — African slavery as it exists amongst us — the proper *status* of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson in his forecast, had anticipated this, as the “rock upon which the old Union would split.” He was right. What was conjecture with him, is now a realized fact. But whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock *stood* and *stands*, may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old constitution, were that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in prin-

ciple, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with, but the general opinion of the men of that day was that, somehow or other in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent and pass away. . . . Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the government built upon it fell when the "storm came and the wind blew."

Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea ; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man ; that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition.

This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth. This truth has been slow in the process of its development, like all other truths in the various departments of science. It has been so even amongst us. Many who hear me, perhaps, can recollect well, that this truth was not generally admitted, even within their day. The errors of the past generation still clung to many as late as twenty years ago. Those at the North, who still cling to these errors, with a zeal above knowledge, we justly denominate fanatics. All fanaticism springs from an aberration of the mind—from a defect in reasoning. It is a species of insanity. One of the most striking characteristics of insanity, in many instances, is forming correct conclusions from fancied or erroneous premises ; so with the anti-slavery fanatics ; their conclusions are right if their premises were. They assume that the negro is equal, and hence conclude that he is entitled to equal privileges and rights with the white man. If their premises were correct, their conclusions would be logical and just—but their premise being wrong, their whole argument fails. . . .

dicate against John C. Breckinridge, the professed exponent of States' rights. In the speech of March 21, 1861, quoted below, he lays down a doctrine concerning slavery very fully as advanced as that of McDuffie (see above, No. 95).—On Stephens, see *American Orations*, IV, 39, 428; *Contemporaries*, IV, No. . — On secession, see *American Orations*, III, Part VI; IV, Part VII; *American History Leaflets*, No. 12; *Contemporaries*, IV, ch.

. . . May we not, therefore, look with confidence to the ultimate universal acknowledgment of the truths upon which our system rests? It is the first government ever instituted upon the principles in strict conformity to nature, and the ordination of Providence, in furnishing the materials of human society. Many governments have been founded upon the principle of the subordination and serfdom of certain classes of the same race; such were and are in violation of the laws of nature. Our system commits no such violation of nature's laws. With us, all of the white race, however high or low, rich or poor, are equal in the eye of the law. Not so with the negro. Subordination is his place. He, by nature, or by the curse against Canaan, is fitted for that condition which he occupies in our system. The architect, in the construction of buildings, lays the foundation with the proper material—the granite; then comes the brick or the marble. The substratum of our society is made of the material fitted by nature for it, and by experience we know that it is best, not only for the superior, but for the inferior race, that it should be so. It is, indeed, in conformity with the ordinance of the Creator. It is not for us to inquire into the wisdom of his ordinances, or to question them. For his own purposes, he has made one race to differ from another, as he has made “one star to differ from another star in glory.”

The great objects of humanity are best attained when there is conformity to his laws and decrees, in the formation of governments as well as in all things else. Our confederacy is founded upon principles in strict conformity with these laws. This stone which was rejected by the first builders “is become the chief of the corner”—the real “corner-stone”—in our new edifice. [Applause.]

I have been asked, what of the future? It has been apprehended by some that we would have arrayed against us the civilized world. I care not who or how many they

Toward the end of the Civil War the South began to raise negro soldiers.

may be against us, when we stand upon the eternal principles of truth, *if we are true to ourselves and the principles for which we contend*, we are obliged to, and must triumph.
[Immense applause.]

Henry Cleveland, *Alexander H. Stephens, in Public and Private*
(Philadelphia, [1867]), 721-723 *passim*.



114. Attack on Fort Sumter (1861)

AS soon as the outline of our fort could be distinguished, the enemy carried out their programme. It had been arranged, as a special compliment to the venerable Edmund Ruffin, who might almost be called the father of secession, that he should fire the first shot against us. . . . Almost immediately afterward a ball from Cummings Point lodged in the magazine wall, and by the sound seemed to bury itself in the masonry about a foot from my head, in very unpleasant proximity to my right ear. This is the one that probably came with Mr. Ruffin's compliments. In a moment the firing burst forth in one continuous roar, and large patches of both the exterior and interior masonry began to crumble and fall in all directions. The place where I was had been used for the manufacture of cartridges, and there was still a good deal of powder there, some packed and some loose. A shell soon struck near the ventilator, and a puff of dense smoke entered the room, giving me a strong impression that there would be an immediate explosion. Fortunately, no sparks had penetrated inside.

Nineteen batteries were now hammering at us, and the balls and shells from the ten-inch columbiads, accompanied

By ABNER DOUBLE-DAY,* then a captain, later a general in the service of the United States. Doubleday was in Fort Sumter from the transfer from Fort Moultrie (December 26, 1860) to the surrender (April 13, 1861). The issue which led to the attack was the secession of South Carolina, which had ceded to the United States the ground on which Sumter stood, but now claimed that the cession had ceased to have force. This was almost the

* Copyright, 1875.

only fort within the Confederate States still held by government troops, and Lincoln refused to give it up, and attempted to reinforce it. Hence the first shot upon it was accepted as the beginning of civil war.—For the controversy over Sumter, see Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, III, ch. xxiii—IV, ch. iii; *Contemporaries*, IV, ch.

These batteries had been constructed under the guns of Sumter, as Anderson had no orders from either Buchanan or Lincoln to prevent them.

by shells from the thirteen-inch mortars which constantly bombarded us, made us feel as if the war had commenced in earnest. . . .

. . . As I was the ranking officer, I took the first detachment, and marched them to the casemates, which looked out upon the powerful iron-clad battery of Cummings Point.

In aiming the first gun fired against the rebellion I had no feeling of self-reproach, for I fully believed that the contest was inevitable, and was not of our seeking. The United States was called upon not only to defend its sovereignty, but its right to exist as a nation. The only alternative was to submit to a powerful oligarchy who were determined to make freedom forever subordinate to slavery. To me it was simply a contest, politically speaking, as to whether virtue or vice should rule.

My first shot bounded off from the sloping roof of the battery opposite without producing any apparent effect. It seemed useless to attempt to silence the guns there; for our metal was not heavy enough to batter the work down, and every ball glanced harmlessly off, except one, which appeared to enter an embrasure and twist the iron shutter, so as to stop the firing of that particular gun. . . .

Our firing now became regular, and was answered from the rebel guns which encircled us on the four sides of the pentagon upon which the fort was built. The other side faced the open sea. Showers of balls from ten-inch columbiads and forty-two-pounders, and shells from thirteen-inch mortars poured into the fort in one incessant stream, causing great flakes of masonry to fall in all directions. When the immense mortar shells, after sailing high in the air, came down in a vertical direction, and buried themselves in the parade-ground, their explosion shook the fort like an earthquake. . . .

After three hours' firing, my men became exhausted, and Captain Seymour came, with a fresh detachment, to relieve

us. He has a great deal of humor in his composition, and said, jocosely, "Doubleday, what in the world is the matter here, and what is all this uproar about?"

I replied, "There is a trifling difference of opinion between us and our neighbors opposite, and we are trying to settle it."

"Very well," he said; "do you wish me to take a hand?"

I said, "Yes, I would like to have you go in."

"All right," he said. "What is your elevation, and range?"

I replied, "Five degrees, and twelve hundred yards."

"Well," he said, "here goes!" And he went to work with a will.

Part of the fleet was visible outside the bar about half past ten A.M. It exchanged salutes with us, but did not attempt to enter the harbor, or take part in the battle. In fact, it would have had considerable difficulty in finding the channel, as the marks and buoys had all been taken up. . . .

On the morning of the 13th, we took our breakfast—or, rather, our pork and water—at the usual hour, and marched the men to the guns when the meal was over.

From 4 to $6\frac{1}{2}$ A.M. the enemy's fire was very spirited. From 7 to 8 A.M. a rain-storm came on, and there was a lull in the cannonading. About 8 A.M. the officers' quarters were ignited by one of Ripley's incendiary shells, or by shot heated in the furnaces at Fort Moultrie. The fire was put out; but at 10 A.M. a mortar shell passed through the roof, and lodged in the flooring of the second story, where it burst, and started the flames afresh. This, too, was extinguished; but the hot shot soon followed each other so rapidly that it was impossible for us to contend with them any longer. It became evident that the entire block, being built with wooden partitions, floors, and roofing, must be consumed, and that the magazine, containing three hundred barrels of powder, would be endangered; for, even after

This fleet had been dispatched by Lincoln with provisions for the fort, but was delayed and could render no aid.

Roswell S. Ripley, formerly an officer in the Northern army, but now serving with the Confederates.

closing the metallic door, sparks might penetrate through the ventilator. The floor was covered with loose powder, where a detail of men had been at work manufacturing cartridge-bags out of old shirts, woolen blankets, etc. . . .

By 11 A.M. the conflagration was terrible and disastrous. One-fifth of the fort was on fire, and the wind drove the smoke in dense masses into the angle where we had all taken refuge. It seemed impossible to escape suffocation. Some lay down close to the ground, with handkerchiefs over their mouths, and others posted themselves near the embrasures, where the smoke was somewhat lessened by the draught of air. . . .

The scene at this time was really terrific. The roaring and crackling of the flames, the dense masses of whirling smoke, the bursting of the enemy's shells, and our own which were exploding in the burning rooms, the crashing of the shot, and the sound of masonry falling in every direction, made the fort a pandemonium. When at last nothing was left of the building but the blackened walls and smoldering embers, it became painfully evident that an immense amount of damage had been done. There was a tower at each angle of the fort. One of these, containing great quantities of shells, upon which we had relied, was almost completely shattered by successive explosions. The massive wooden gates, studded with iron nails, were burned, and the wall built behind them was now a mere heap of débris, so that the main entrance was wide open for an assaulting party. The sally-ports were in a similar condition, and the numerous windows on the gorge side, which had been planked up, had now become all open entrances.

About 12.48 P.M. the end of the flag-staff was shot down, and the flag fell. . . .

The flag was raised again, but the fort was shortly obliged to surrender.

From Doubleday's *Reminiscences of Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie*, Copyright, 1875, by Harper & Brothers.

CHAPTER XVIII—CIVIL WAR 1861–1865

115. The Rousing of the North (1861)

ON Sunday, April 14 [1861], the fact became known that Fort Sumter had surrendered. The excitement created by the bombardment of that fortress and its magnificent defence by Anderson was prodigious. The outrage on the Government of the United States thus perpetrated by the authorities of South Carolina sealed the fate of the newborn Confederacy and the institution of slavery. Intelligent Southerners at the North were well aware of the consequences which must follow. In the city of New York a number of prominent gentlemen devoted to the interests of the South, and desirous to obtain a bloodless dissolution of the Union, were seated together in anxious conference, studying with intense solicitude the means of preserving the peace. A messenger entered the room in breathless haste with the news: “General Beauregard has opened fire on Fort Sumter!” The persons whom he thus addressed remained a while in dead silence, looking into each other’s pale faces; then one of them, with uplifted hands, cried, in a voice of anguish, “My God, we are ruined!”

The North rose as one man. The question had been asked by those who were watching events, “How will New York go?” There were sinister hopes in certain quarters of a strong sympathy with the secession movements; dreams that New York might decide on cutting off from the rest of the country and becoming a free-city. These hopes and

By REVEREND MORGAN DIX*, (1827—), rector of Trinity Church, New York City, from his memoirs of his father, John Adams Dix, published in 1883. This piece is a most graphic picture by an eye-witness of the state of things in our largest city at the moment of the outbreak of the Rebellion, and is also a remarkable piece of uplifting description.—On the outbreak of war, see *American Orations*, IV, 3–81.—On the Civil War in general, *American Orations*, IV, Part VII; *American History Leaf*.

* Copyright, 1883.

lets, Nos. 18,
26; *American History
Studies*, No.
9; *Contem-
poraries*, IV,
Part .

For the at-
tack on Sum-
ter, see
above, No.
114.

dreams vanished in a day. The reply to the question how New York would go was given with an energy worthy of herself.

The 15th of that month brought President Lincoln's proclamation and the call for 75,000 men — a bagatelle, as it proved, compared with the number required ; but the figures seemed enormous to the popular eye, and the demand set the whole city in a blaze. Never to my dying day shall I forget a scene witnessed on Thursday of that week. A regiment had arrived from Massachusetts on the way to Washington, *via* Baltimore. They came in at night ; and it was understood that, after breakfasting at the Astor House, the march would be resumed. By nine o'clock in the morning an immense crowd had assembled about the hotel : Broadway, from Barclay to Fulton Street, and the lower end of Park Row, were occupied by a dense mass of human beings, all watching the front entrance, at which the regiment was to file out. From side to side, from wall to wall, extended that innumerable host, silent as the grave, expectant, something unspeakable in the faces. It was the dead, deep hush before the thunder-storm. At last a low murmur was heard ; it sounded somewhat like a gasp of men in suspense ; and the cause was, that the soldiers had appeared, their leading files descending the steps. By the twinkle of their bayonets above the heads of the crowd their course could be traced out into the open street in front. Formed, at last, in column, they stood, the band at the head ; and the word was given, "March !" Still dead silence prevailed. Then the drums rolled out the time — the regiment was in motion. And then the band, bursting into full volume, struck up — what other tune could the Massachusetts men have chosen ? — "Yankee Doodle." I caught about two bars and a half of the old music, not more. For instantly there arose a sound such as many a man never heard in all his life and never will hear ; such as is never heard more than once in

a lifetime. Not more awful is the thunder of heaven as, with sudden peal, it smites into silence all lesser sounds, and, rolling through the vault above us, fills earth and sky with the shock of its terrible voice. One terrific roar burst from the multitude, leaving nothing audible save its own reverberation. We saw the heads of armed men, the gleam of their weapons, the regimental colors, all moving on, pageant-like ; but naught could we hear save that hoarse, heavy surge — one general acclaim, one wild shout of joy and hope, one endless cheer, rolling up and down, from side to side, above, below, to right, to left : the voice of approval, of consent, of unity in act and will. No one who saw and heard could doubt how New York was going.

After that came events the account of which fills volumes of records of our national history. The ebb of the tide was over ; the waters were coming in with the steadiness and momentum of a flood which bears everything before it.

Morgan Dix, *Memoirs of John Adams Dix* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1883), II, 9-11.



116. Battle of Bull Run (1861)

BY the time I reached the top of the hill, the retreat, the panic, the hideous headlong confusion, were now beyond a hope. I was near the rear of the movement, with the brave Capt. Alexander, who endeavored by the most gallant but unavailable exertions to check the onward tumult. It was difficult to believe in the reality of our sudden reverse. "What does it all mean?" I asked Alexander. "It means defeat," was his reply. "We are beaten ; it is a shameful, a cowardly retreat ! Hold up, men !" he shouted, "don't be such infernal cowards !" and he rode backwards and forwards, placing his horse across the road and vainly trying to

By EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN (1833-), then a correspondent of a New York daily (from which he reprinted this account), later a banker and poet. His report tallies with other accounts of correspondents and civilians.

The cause of the rout (July 21, 1861) was the inexperience of the troops and the lack of acquaintance with their field officers. The actual Federal loss in the fight was not in proportion to the terror,—
460 killed,
1124 wounded,
and 1312 missing, out of 18,572 troops engaged. The effect was to make clear to the North the real difficulty of the suppression of the Rebellion.—On Bull Run, see *Contemporaries*, IV, Nos.

One of this party was A. G. Riddle, who has a spirited account in his *Recollections of War Times*.

rally the running troops. The teams and wagons confused and dismembered every corps. We were now cut off from the advance body by the enemy's infantry, who had rushed on the slope just left by us, surrounded the guns and sutlers' wagons, and were apparently pressing up against us. "It's no use, Alexander," I said, "you must leave with the rest." "I'll be d—d if I will," was his sullen reply, and the splendid fellow rode back to make his way as best he could. Meantime I saw officers with leaves and eagles on their shoulder-straps, majors and colonels, who had deserted their commands, pass me galloping as if for dear life. No enemy pursued just then; but I suppose all were afraid that his guns would be trained down the long, narrow avenue, and mow the retreating thousands, and batter to pieces army wagons and everything else which crowded it. Only one field officer, so far as my observation extended, seemed to have remembered his duty. Lieut-Col. Speidel, a foreigner attached to a Connecticut regiment, strove against the current for a league. I positively declare that, with the two exceptions mentioned, all efforts made to check the panic before Centreville was reached, were confined to *civilians*. I saw a man in citizen's dress, who had thrown off his coat, seized a musket, and was trying to rally the soldiers who came by at the point of the bayonet. In a reply to a request for his name, he said it was Washburne, and I learned he was the member by that name from Illinois. The Hon. Mr. Kellogg made a similar effort. Both these Congressmen bravely stood their ground till the last moment, and were serviceable at Centreville in assisting the halt there ultimately made. And other civilians did what they could.

But what a scene! and how terrific the onset of that tumultuous retreat. For three miles, hosts of federal troops—all detached from their regiments, all mingled in one disorderly rout—were fleeing along the road, but mostly through the lots on either side. Army wagons, sutlers'

teams, and private carriages, choked the passage, tumbling against each other, amid clouds of dust, and sickening sights and sounds. Hacks, containing unlucky spectators of the late affray, were smashed like glass, and the occupants were lost sight of in the *debris*. Horses, flying wildly from the battle-field, many of them in death agony, galloped at random forward, joining in the stampede. Those on foot who could catch them rode them bare-back, as much to save themselves from being run over, as to make quicker time. Wounded men, lying along the banks—the few neither left on the field nor taken to the captured hospitals—appealed with raised hands to those who rode horses, begging to be lifted behind, but few regarded such petitions. Then the artillery, such as was saved, came thundering along, smashing and overpowering everything. The regular cavalry, I record it to their shame, joined in the *melée*, adding to its terrors, for they rode down footmen without mercy. One of the great guns was overturned and lay amid the ruins of a caisson, as I passed it. I saw an artillery-man running between the ponderous fore and after-wheels of his gun-carriage, hanging on with both hands, and vainly striving to jump upon the ordnance. The drivers were spurring the horses; he could not cling much longer, and a more agonized expression never fixed the features of a drowning man. The carriage bounded from the roughness of a steep hill leading to a creek, he lost his hold, fell, and in an instant the great wheels had crushed the life out of him. Who ever saw such a flight? Could the retreat at Borodino have exceeded it in confusion and tumult? I think not. It did not slack in the least until Centreville was reached. There the sight of the reserve—Miles's Brigade—formed in order on the hill, seemed somewhat to reassure the van. But still the teams and foot soldiers pushed on, passing their own camps and heading swiftly for the distant Potomac, until for ten miles the road over which the grand army had so lately

Caisson =
the after-part
of an artillery
bunker, con-
taining the
ammunition.

Borodino,
place of the
defeat of the
Russians by
Napoleon in
1812.

passed southward, gay with unstained banners, and flushed with surety of strength, was covered with the fragments of its retreating forces, shattered and panic-stricken in a single day. From the branch route the trains attached to Hunter's Division had caught the contagion of the flight, and poured into its already swollen current another turbid freshet of confusion and dismay. Who ever saw a more shameful abandonment of munitions gathered at such vast expense? The teamsters, many of them, cut the traces of their horses, and galloped from the wagons. Others threw out their loads to accelerate their flight, and grain, picks, and shovels, and provisions of every kind lay trampled in the dust for leagues. Thousands of muskets strewed the route, and when some of us succeeded in rallying a body of fugitives, and forming them in a line across the road, hardly one but had thrown away his arms. If the enemy had brought up his artillery and served it upon the retreating train, or had intercepted our progress with five hundred of his cavalry, he might have captured enough supplies for a week's feast of thanksgiving. As it was, enough was left behind to tell the story of the panic. The rout of the federal army seemed complete.

Edmund C. Stedman, *The Battle of Bull Run* (New York, 1861),
33-37.

By GEORGE
CARY EG-
GLESTON
(1839-),
who served
as a private
in the Con-
federate
army and
saw active
service from
Bull Run to
Appomatox. Since

117. The Southern Soldier (1861-1865)

OUR ideas of the life and business of a soldier were drawn chiefly from the adventures of Ivanhoe and Charles O'Malley, two worthies with whose personal history almost every man in the army was familiar[.] The men who volunteered went to war of their own accord, and were wholly unaccustomed to acting on any other than their own motion. They were hardy lovers of field sports, accustomed

to out-door life, and in all physical respects excellent material of which to make an army. But they were not used to control of any sort, and were not disposed to obey anybody except for good and sufficient reason given. While actually on drill they obeyed the word of command, not so much by reason of its being proper to obey a command, as because obedience was in that case necessary to the successful issue of a pretty performance in which they were interested. Off drill they did as they pleased, holding themselves gentlemen, and as such bound to consult only their own wills. Their officers were of themselves, chosen by election, and subject, by custom, to enforced resignation upon petition of the men. . . .

With troops of this kind, the reader will readily understand, a feeling of very democratic equality prevailed, so far at least as military rank had anything to do with it. Officers were no better than men, and so officers and men messed and slept together on terms of entire equality, quarreling and even fighting now and then, in a gentlemanly way, but without a thought of allowing differences of military rank to have any influence in the matter. The theory was that the officers were the creatures of the men, chosen by election to represent their constituency in the performance of certain duties, and that only during good behavior. And to this theory the officers themselves gave in their adhesion in a hundred ways. Indeed, they could do nothing else, inasmuch as they knew no way of quelling a mutiny. . . .

In the camp of instruction at Ashland, where the various cavalry companies existing in Virginia were sent to be made into soldiers, it was a very common thing indeed for men who grew tired of camp fare to take their meals at the hotel, and one or two of them rented cottages and brought their families there, excusing themselves from attendance upon unreasonably early roll-calls, by pleading the distance from their cottages to the parade-ground. Whenever a detail was

the war, Mr. Eggleston has been engaged in journalistic and literary work. In 1874 he contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly* a series of papers called "A Rebel's Recollections," which later appeared in book form. These papers throw much light on the internal condition of the Confederate army.—See *Contemporaries*, IV, No.

made for the purpose of cleaning the camp-ground, the men detailed regarded themselves as responsible for the proper performance of the task by their servants, and uncomplainingly took upon themselves the duty of sitting on the fence and superintending the work. The two or three men of the overseer class who were to be found in nearly every company turned some nimble quarters by standing other men's turns of guard-duty at twenty-five cents an hour; and one young gentleman of my own company, finding himself assigned to a picket rope post, where his only duty was to guard the horses and prevent them, in their untrained exuberance of spirit, from becoming entangled in each other's heels and halters, coolly called his servant and turned the matter over to him, with a rather informal but decidedly pointed injunction not to let those horses get themselves into trouble if he valued his hide. . . .

It was in this undisciplined state that the men who afterwards made up the army under Lee were sent to the field to meet the enemy at Bull Run and elsewhere, and the only wonder is that they were ever able to fight at all. They were certainly not soldiers. They were as ignorant of the alphabet of obedience as their officers were of the art of commanding. And yet they acquitted themselves reasonably well, a fact which can be explained only by reference to the causes of their insubordination in camp. These men were the people of the South, and the war was their own; wherefore they fought to win it of their own accord, and not at all because their officers commanded them to do so. Their personal spirit and their intelligence were their sole elements of strength. Death has few terrors for such men, as compared with dishonor, and so they needed no officers at all, and no discipline, to insure their personal good conduct on the field of battle. The same elements of character, too, made them accept hardship with the utmost cheerfulness, as soon as hardship became a necessary condition to

the successful prosecution of a war that every man of them regarded as his own. In camp, at Richmond or Ashland, they had shunned all unnecessary privation and all distasteful duty, because they then saw no occasion to endure avoidable discomfort. But in the field they showed themselves great, stalwart men in spirit as well as in bodily frame, and endured cheerfully the hardships of campaigning precisely as they would have borne the fatigues of a hunt, as incidents encountered in the prosecution of their purposes.

George Cary Eggleston, *A Rebel's Recollections* (New York, 1875), 31-39 *passim*.

118. Supplies for the Wounded (1862)

THE first two days after Brother Cushing and myself reached here [Washington], we were busy with the wounded on the steamboats coming from Acquia Creek, giving them soft bread and apple-sauce, and helping them to the ambulances.

Thursday morning, as we were by the boats, some one came to us and said, that on one of the boats was a man who had eaten nothing for three days. With bread in our hands, and brandy and wine in our canteens, and hymn-books in the pocket, we crossed over two steamboats to one where nothing had been eaten for twenty-four hours. They had been out in the cold all night,—had lain four hours at Acquia Creek on the cars in the cold, and now, waiting hours before they could be taken from the boat's deck (3000 wounded had come in that night), they were as patient as if Job had been the father of every one. But they were glad for something to eat, and of the hot coffee which came along soon.

One man laughed as he took his bread. "What are you laughing at?" asked another.

The first of these extracts is from a letter written to the Christian Commission by REVEREND FRANCIS NATHAN PELOUBET (1831-); the second from one by REVEREND GEORGE LANSING TAYLOR (1835-), chaplain of the Eighth Michigan regiment. They convey a good idea of the manner in which the wounded were cared for during the war, and of the work of the volunteer Christian Commission.

"Who wouldn't laugh to see a piece of bread?"

"This looks like home," — "This reminds me of home," was the expression of some.

The regular Government boats are nicely fitted up, and have all the needful arrangements for the comfortable transportation of the wounded. But the other boats used for this purpose have neither food nor medicines, and a weary time would they have had but for the Christian Commission. . . . One remarked, as we were leaving, "I shall never forget that fur cap (Cushing's) wherever I meet it." "Nor I," "Nor I," was the echo; my own less *distingué* chapeau getting but a dimmer fame. . . .

We had a large number of men convalescent and suffering of want of appetite, and were wasting away before the "hardtack and bean soup of the army fare," but receiving at your hands some soft bread, soft crackers, and sweet butter, I mounted my horse, and galloped to my camp. I succeeded in getting to the hospital tent, just as the nurse entered with the bean soup for dinner, and before which many of the pale faces turned paler, but no sooner did they behold the palatable food I had, than every countenance lighted up with such an unutterable look of gratitude, that it must really be seen by any one to be realized. The next day I spread the crackers with butter, and then added a third layer of apple-butter, from the can you gave me, which was received with an equal amount of gratitude by all. . . . in the characteristic manner of the soldier, and as no other man can utter the word, one of them exclaimed, "Bully for such a chaplain as you." My dear sir, could but the ladies and kind friends who sustain you come and witness a few of these cases, they would really believe that no one could bestow even a cup of cold water, but would receive their reward. . . .

At Falmouth,
Virginia.

United States Christian Commission, *First Annual Report*
(Philadelphia, 1863), 35-39 *passim*.

119. Farragut at New Orleans (1862)

WE then proceeded up to New Orleans, leaving the Wissahicon and Kineo to protect the landing of the general's troops. Owing to the slowness of some of the vessels, and our want of knowledge of the river, we did not reach the English Turn until about 10.30 A.M. on the 25th; but all the morning I had seen abundant evidence of the panic which had seized the people in New Orleans. Cotton-loaded ships on fire came floating down, and working implements of every kind, such as are used in ship-yards. The destruction of property was awful. We soon descried the new earthwork forts on the old lines on both shores. We now formed and advanced in the same order, two lines, each line taking its respective work. Captain Bailey was still far in advance, not having noticed my signal for close order, which was to enable the slow vessels to come up. They opened on him a galling fire, which caused us to run up to his rescue; this gave them the advantage of a raking fire on us for upwards of a mile with some twenty guns, while we had but two 9-inch guns on our forecastle to reply to them. It was not long, however, before we were enabled to bear away and give the forts a broadside of shells, shrapnell, and grape, the Pensacola at the same time passing up and giving a tremendous broadside of the same kind to the starboard fort; and by the time we could reload, the Brooklyn, Captain Craven, passed handsomely between us and the battery and delivered her broadside, and shut us out. By this time the other vessels had gotten up, and ranged in one after another, delivering their broadsides in spiteful revenge for their [*i.e.* the enemies'] ill-trea[t]ment of the little Cayuga. The forts were silenced, and those who could run were running in every direction. We now passed up to the city and anchored immediately in front of it, and I sent Captain

By DAVID
GLASGOW
FARRAGUT
(1801-1870).
February 2,
1862, Far-
ragut sailed
from Hampt-
on Roads
with orders
to take New
Orleans.
February 20,
a land force
was sent
from Fortress
Monroe,
under Gen-
eral Butler, to
coöperate
with him and
to garrison
the city after
its capture.
April 25,
1862, the
mayor of
New Orleans
surrendered
the city to
Farragut, as
flag-officer,
who handed
it over to
General
Butler on
May 1. This
event gave
the Union
army the
control of the
mouth of the
Mississippi,
and also, it is
worthy of
note, caused
the Emperor
Napoleon
III to recon-
sider his
design of
recognizing
the Confed-
eracy and

raising the blockade.

Shrapnell = shells filled with bullets and a small bursting charge.

The "Ca-yuga" was Captain Bailey's vessel.

Levee = embankment along the river.

Forts Jackson and St. Philip.

Bailey on shore to demand the surrender of it from the authorities, to which the mayor replied that the city was under martial law, and that he had no authority. General Lovell, who was present, stated that he should deliver up nothing, but in order to free the city from embarrassment he would restore the city authorities, and retire with his troops, which he did. . . .

The levee of New Orleans was one scene of desolation. Ships, steamers, cotton, coal, &c., were all in one common blaze, and our ingenuity was much taxed to avoid the floating conflagration. . . .

I next went above the city eight miles, to Carrollton, where I learned there were two other forts, but the panic had gone before me. I found the guns spiked, and the gun-carriages in flames. The first work, on the right, reaches from the Mississippi nearly over to Pontchartrain, and has 29 guns; the one on the left had six guns, from which Commander Lee took some fifty barrels of powder, and completed the destruction of the gun-carriages, &c. A mile higher up there were two other earthworks, but not yet armed. . . .

On the evening of the 29th Captain Bailey arrived from below, with the gratifying intelligence that the forts had surrendered to Commander Porter, and had delivered up all public property, and were being paroled, and that the navy had been made to surrender unconditionally, as they had conducted themselves with bad faith, burning and sinking their vessels while a flag of truce was flying, and the forts negotiating for their surrender, and the Louisiana, their great iron-clad battery, blown up almost alongside of the vessel where they were negotiating; hence their officers were not paroled, but sent home to be treated according to the judgment of the government.

General Butler came up the same day, and arrangements were made for bringing up his troops.

I sent on shore and hoisted the American flag on the cus-

tom-house, and hauled down the Louisiana State flag from the city hall, as the mayor had avowed that there was no man in New Orleans who dared to haul it down ; and my own convictions are that if such an individual could have been found he would have been assassinated.

Secretary of the Navy, *Report*, 1862 (Washington, 1863), 279-281 *passim*.

I20. Proclamation of Emancipation (1862)

THE appointed hour found me at the well-remembered door of the official chamber,—that door watched daily, with so many conflicting emotions of hope and fear, by the anxious throng regularly gathered there. The President had preceded me, and was already deep in Acts of Congress, with which the writing-desk was strewed, awaiting his signature. He received me pleasantly, giving me a seat near his own arm-chair ; and after having read Mr. Lovejoy's note, he took off his spectacles, and said, " Well, Mr. C — , we will turn you in loose here, and try to give you a good chance to work out your idea." Then, without paying much attention to the enthusiastic expression of my ambitious desire and purpose, he proceeded to give me a detailed account of the history and issue of the great proclamation.

" It had got to be," said he, " midsummer, 1862. Things had gone on from bad to worse, until I felt that we had reached the end of our rope on the plan of operations we had been pursuing ; that we had about played our last card, and must change our tactics, or lose the game ! I now determined upon the adoption of the emancipation policy ; and, without consultation with, or the knowledge of the Cabinet, I prepared the original draft of the proclamation,

By FRANCIS BICKNELL CARPENTER (1830—), a portrait-painter, who has had many distinguished sitters. In 1864 he painted a large historical picture representing the signing of the emancipation proclamation on January 1, 1863. During the execution of this task, he was thrown into confidential personal contact with the President, and gained thereby much knowledge of his character and policy ; he afterward threw his remembrances together into the book

from which
this extract is
taken.—On
Lincoln, see
above, No.
111, and below,
No. 124.—On
emancipation, see
Contemporaries, IV, ch.

The meeting
was held
July 22.

Chase has
left an ac-
count in his
diary
(printed in
R. B. Ward-
den's biogra-
phy).

Seward was
Secretary of
State.

and, after much anxious thought, called a Cabinet meeting upon the subject. This was the last of July, or the first part of the month of August, 1862." (The exact date he did not remember.) "This Cabinet meeting took place, I think, upon a Saturday. All were present, excepting Mr. Blair, the Postmaster-General, who was absent at the opening of the discussion, but came in subsequently. I said to the Cabinet that I had resolved upon this step, and had not called them together to ask their advice, but to lay the subject-matter of a proclamation before them; suggestions as to which would be in order, after they had heard it read. Mr. Lovejoy," said he, "was in error when he informed you that it excited no comment, excepting on the part of Secretary Seward. Various suggestions were offered. Secretary Chase wished the language stronger in reference to the arming of the blacks. Mr. Blair, after he came in, deprecated the policy, on the ground that it would cost the Administration the fall elections. Nothing, however, was offered that I had not already fully anticipated and settled in my own mind, until Secretary Seward spoke. He said in substance: 'Mr. President, I approve of the proclamation, but I question the expediency of its issue at this juncture. The depression of the public mind, consequent upon our repeated reverses, is so great that I fear the effect of so important a step. It may be viewed as the last measure of an exhausted government, a cry for help; the government stretching forth its hands to Ethiopia, instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the government.' His idea," said the President, "was that it would be considered our last *shriek*, on the retreat." (This was his *precise* expression.) "'Now,' continued Mr. Seward, 'while I approve the measure, I suggest, sir, that you postpone its issue, until you can give it to the country supported by military success, instead of issuing it, as would be the case now, upon the greatest disasters of the war!'" Mr. Lincoln continued: "The wisdom of the view

of the Secretary of State struck me with very great force. It was an aspect of the case that, in all my thought upon the subject, I had entirely overlooked. The result was that I put the draft of the proclamation aside, as you do your sketch for a picture, waiting for a victory. From time to time I added or changed a line, touching it up here and there, anxiously watching the progress of events. Well, the next news we had was of Pope's disaster, at Bull Run. Things looked darker than ever. Finally, came the week of the battle of Antietam. I determined to wait no longer. The news came, I think, on Wednesday, that the advantage was on our side. I was then staying at the Soldiers' Home, (three miles out of Washington.) Here I finished writing the second draft of the preliminary proclamation ; came up on Saturday ; called the Cabinet together to hear it, and it was published the following Monday."

August 30.

September
16, 17.

At the final meeting of September 20th, another interesting incident occurred in connection with Secretary Seward. The President had written the important part of the proclamation in these words : —

"That, on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever FREE ; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will *recognize* the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom." "When I finished reading this paragraph," resumed Mr. Lincoln, "Mr. Seward stopped me, and said, 'I think, Mr. President, that you should insert after the word '*recognize*,' in that sentence, the words '*and maintain*.'" I replied that I had already fully considered the import of that expression in this connection,

but I had not introduced it, because it was not my way to promise what I was not entirely *sure* that I could perform, and I was not prepared to say that I thought we were exactly able to 'maintain' this."

"But," said he, "Seward insisted that we ought to take this ground; and the words finally went in!"

"It is a somewhat remarkable fact," he subsequently remarked, "that there were just one hundred days between the dates of the two proclamations issued upon the 22d of September and the 1st of January. I had not made the calculation at the time."

Having concluded this interesting statement, the President then proceeded to show me the various positions occupied by himself and the different members of the Cabinet, on the occasion of the first meeting. "As nearly as I remember," said he, "I sat near the head of the table; the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of War were here, at my right hand; the others were grouped at the left."

F[rancis] B[icknell] Carpenter, *Six Months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1866), 20-24.

By DR. ALBERT GAILLARD HART (1821-), long a practising physician in western Pennsylvania, a volunteer of 1861, and a soldier of three years' service in the Civil War as surgeon of the

121. In the Thick of the Fight (1863)

HOSPITAL 41ST REGIMENT O. V. I. AT DIVISION HOSPITAL
SECOND DIVISION, CRITTENDEN'S CORPS, THREE MILES
NORTH OF MURPHYSBOROUGH, TENNESSEE,

JANUARY 7TH, 1863.

MY dearest wife; You will have ere this some account of the battle of Murphysborough, or Stone River. The great battle was fought on the 31st of December. The rebel forces attacked our right wing, General Mack Cook's corps, and took us entirely by surprise. Their left line extended much beyond

our right and as they came near us they wheeled their extreme left, which brought them in a position to rake us or fire along our line. No command can long stand up under such a fire, and ours broke back in utter rout, and carried with them as in a mighty reflex wave division after division, Jeff C. Davis, Johnson, Sheridan, and Negley's divisions, and the right of our own Palmer's. By noon our line had been driven so far back as to be nearly at a right angle to the position which we had occupied at 8 o'clock in the morning. At my standpoint, this hospital nearly two miles in the rear, a cloud of fugitives numbering thousands were seen flying toward the rear, not an army, but a cloud of helpless, terror-stricken, totally disorganized and disbanded men, followed by a few hundred rebel cavalry, who shot down or captured the men at pleasure. Our Division Hospital fell into their hands and a mile or two of the transportation along the pike, on which we were advancing. Our left at the same time was turned by the rebel cavalry. Fortunately our cavalry coming up re-took our hospital a half hour after the rebels had taken possession of it, and I saw my first cavalry fight between our own and rebel cavalry.

For a time it seemed as if the day was hopelessly lost. Still many of the regiments kept their men in the rallying distance, and fell back in partial order. They formed at last, after Rousseau's reserves had come into line, and aided to save the day. Still back and back came our right, and all that could be done was to change our front so as to face the rebels as they came surging up. Artillery discharges at the rate of 60 per minute could not leave a field long contested. Every brigade yielded in the fatal tide. Two brigades of our division wheeled into the same line; the 19th, our own, is next and the last. The right of our brigade necessarily falls back to take line with that which adjoins it. Will our left too give back? The 41st is on the extreme left to the left of the pike. At the left of our regiment the

41st Ohio Volunteer Infantry. He made the selection for this work out of three hundred of his war letters now preserved.

Murphysborough = Murfreesboro.

"Mack Cook" was Gen. A. McD. McCook, one of "the fighting McCooks."

Surgeons were seldom carried away as prisoners.

retreat ceases, and on it, as on a pivot, the brigade swings round and rests. Five times the rebels poured a sheet of flame, and a cloud of musketry and artillery upon us. Supported by Cockerel's battery we hold our ground successfully.

A. B. Hazen,
then colonel
of the 41st,
later a major-
general.

This is a ter-
rible percent-
age of loss for
a single fight.

Too much credit cannot be given Colonel Hazen commanding our brigade. Few men could have held troops under so galling a fire. Our loss is double that of regiments on the right wing, as thousands threw away their muskets, and did not fire a round.

Our complete return of killed and wounded is, killed 16, wounded 94, 110 out of 413 men engaged.

Two days after the battle the rebels under General Breckinridge came down on our left wing with 10,000 men mostly Kentuckians. As they descended the slope toward Stone River, Van Cleve's Division, which was lying opposite where they emerged from the woods, were driven out like a flock of sheep. Most fortunately and providentially for us General Rosecrans had caused to be parked 52 pieces of artillery directly opposite their point of attack. Every piece was opened upon them and according to the rebel account when they went back in 40 minutes they left 2,000 men dead and wounded upon the field.

You will know that the rebels have evacuated Murphysborough and are in full march for the South.

From MS. letters communicated for this volume by Dr. Hart.



By "A LADY." The account from which this extract is taken is by an anonym-

122. Cave Life in a Besieged City (1863)

SO constantly dropped the shells around the city, that the inhabitants all made preparations to live under the ground during the siege. M—— sent over and had a cave

made in a hill near by. We seized the opportunity one evening, when the gunners were probably at their supper, for we had a few moments of quiet, to go over and take possession. We were under the care of a friend of M——, who was paymaster on the staff of the same General with whom M—— was Adjutant. We had neighbors on both sides of us ; and it would have been an amusing sight to a spectator to witness the domestic scenes presented without by the number of servants preparing the meals under the high bank containing the caves.

Our dining, breakfasting, and supper hours were quite irregular. When the shells were falling fast, the servants came in for safety, and our meals waited for completion some little time ; again they would fall slowly, with the lapse of many minutes between, and out would start the cooks to their work.

Some families had light bread made in large quantities, and subsisted on it with milk (provided their cows were not killed from one milking time to another), without any more cooking, until called on to replenish. Though most of us lived on corn bread and bacon, served three times a day, the only luxury of the meal consisting in its warmth, I had some flour, and frequently had some hard, tough biscuit made from it, there being no soda or yeast to be procured. At this time we could, also, procure beef. . . . And so I went regularly to work, keeping house under ground. Our new habitation was an excavation made in the earth, and branching six feet from the entrance, forming a cave in the shape of a T. In one of the wings my bed fitted ; the other I used as a kind of a dressing room ; in this the earth had been cut down a foot or two below the floor of the main cave ; I could stand erect here ; and when tired of sitting in other portions of my residence, I bowed myself into it, and stood impassively resting at full height — one of the variations in the still shell-expectant life. M——'s servant

mous hand.
It appeared
in 1864, and
faithfully
pictures the
conditions in
Vicksburg
during the
siege by
Grant's army.
It is an ex-
ample of the
picturesque-
ness of a
personal nar-
rative. —

Compare
above, Nos.
60, 84, 86,
114, 116, 121.
—On the
Vicksburg
campaign,
see *Contem-
poraries*, IV,
ch.

"M——"
was the hus-
band of the
narrator.

cooked for us under protection of the hill. Our quarters were close, indeed; yet I was more comfortable than I expected I could have been made under the earth in that fashion.

We were safe at least from fragments of shell—and they were flying in all directions; though no one seemed to think our cave any protection, should a mortar shell happen to fall directly on top of the ground above us. . . .

And so the weary days went on—the long, weary days—when we could not tell in what terrible form death might come to us before the sun went down. Another fear that troubled M—— was, that our provisions might not last us during the siege. He would frequently urge me to husband all that I had, for troublesome times were probably in store for us; told me of the soldiers in the intrenchments, who would have gladly eaten the bread that was left from our meals, for they were suffering every privation, and that our servants lived far better than these men who were defending the city. Soon the pea meal became an article of food for us also, and a very unpalatable article it proved. To make it of proper consistency, we were obliged to mix some corn meal with it, which cooked so much faster than the pea meal, that it burned before the bread was half done. The taste was peculiar and disagreeable. . . .

Still, we had nothing to complain of in comparison with the soldiers: many of them were sick and wounded in a hospital in the most exposed parts of the city, with shells falling and exploding all around them. . . .

Even the very animals seemed to share the general fear of a sudden and frightful death. The dogs would be seen in the midst of the noise to gallop up the street, and then to return, as if fear had maddened them. On hearing the descent of a shell, they would dart aside—then, as it exploded, sit down and howl in the most pitiful manner. There were many walking the street, apparently without homes. . . .

In the midst of other miserable thoughts, it came into my mind one day, that these dogs through hunger might become as much to be dreaded as wolves. Groundless was this anxiety, for in the course of a week or two they had almost disappeared.

Vicksburg
was finally
surrendered
to Grant,
July 4, 1863.

A Lady, *My Cave Life in Vicksburg* (New York, etc., 1864), 58-78 *passim*. (Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1864, by D. Appleton and Company.)

123. Battle of Gettysburg (1863)

THE GREAT VICTORY.

The Rebel Army Totally Defeated.

ITS REMAINS DRIVEN INTO THE MOUNTAINS.

It is There Surrounded and Hemmed in.

Its Retreat Across the Potomac River Cut Off.

TWENTY THOUSAND PRISONERS CAPTURED

One Hundred and Eighteen Guns Taken.

The Rebel General Longstreet Killed

By a correspondent of the NEW YORK TRIBUNE. This account of one of the greatest battles of the war, from the pages of a leading Northern paper, will serve to convey an idea of how the people were kept informed of what was going on at the front.— On the campaign of Gettysburg, see *Contemporaries*, IV, No.

DETAILS OF THE THREE DAYS' FIGHTING.

The Most Terrific Combat on Record

Desperate Charges by the Rebel
Troops Massed.

OUR TROOPS STAND FIRM AS A ROCK.

The Rebel Assaults Repeatedly Repulsed.

Their Solid Ranks Dashed into Fragments.

STILL THE UNION ARMY STAND FIRM.

The Rebels Pause—Waver—Break
and Scatter.

A great and Glorious Victory for the
Potomac Army.

• • • • •

Lee had crossed the Potomac and penetrated into Pennsylvania.

YESTERDAY, the third day's struggle of the Army of the Potomac, brought another triumph to our army, and last night another sun set over a victorious but bloody-fought battle-field. The flower of the Southern army threw itself in one gigantic death-struggle upon our army, its Generals swearing to pierce our center or go down before the valor of our troops. The onset was fierce and bloody, and cost us many brave men, but the repulse of the invaders was complete, and thousands of slaughtered Rebels lay strewn along the ground, while thousands fell into our hands as prisoners. Many battle-flags have been taken. Four thousand Rebels captured yesterday are on their way to Baltimore, and several thousand are in camp guarded by our men.

Gen. Meade has now the admiration of the whole army. His daring acts and military strategy in placing in position his victorious army increase confidence in his generalship. He has fought as no one ever fought the Potomac army before. . . .

The following details of the battle were taken by your correspondent from Gen. Hancock, who commanded the Second Corps during the fight till evening, when a Rebel bullet compelled him to fall to the rear.

As the firing ceased on Thursday night and our army, flushed, with victory, covered the enemy's ground, it held command of the bloody battle field of the day.

The Rebel flag of truce was denied, and Friday morning found our army re-enforced by the reserves of the Sixth Corps, Gen. Sedgwick, and Twelfth Corps, Gen. Slocum. Holding the field, our army was in line of battle along the Emmettsburg Turnpike and along the Taneytown Road. Several rifle pits on the extreme right were left in possession of the enemy on Thursday night.

On Friday morning the ball was opened by Gen. Geary, who moved upon the enemy to retake these rifle pits. Firing now became general, and continued without damage to us until eleven o'clock, the rifle-pits falling into our possession. From 11 till 1 o'clock the firing slackened, but as 1 o'clock arrived, there were indications of another clash of arms more bloody than the historian of the war has yet recorded. The Rebels under Gen. Ewell now made a concentration of all their artillery, and opened a terrible artillery fire on our left center. Battery after battery roared, shaking the surrounding hills, and shot and shell rained death and destruction upon our lines.

The Second Corps occupied the center, and the position which withstood the last convulsive attack of the Rebels was commanded by Gen. Hayes. The enemy followed their artillery with a tremendous infantry assault under the Rebel

Thursday
was the sec-
ond day of
fighting.

The third
day's fight.

This was
one of the
most terrible
cannonades
of the war.

General
Pickett
was really in
command.

Gen. Anderson, coming up in masses, sometimes in close column by division. Our men stood like serried hosts, and on came the enemy, crowding, shouting, and rushing toward our guns like infuriated demons. There was no waver in our lines. On came the Rebels, while the canister from batteries told fearfully among their dying ranks. Now they are within twenty yards of our guns, and volley after volley of shot and shell and whizzing bullets go crashing down among them, dealing death and scattering the motley ranks to die or surrender.

The slaughter was fearful, and there were a few men of the enemy who did not find even a grave near our guns. The Third and Fifth Corps now joined in the fight. Gen. Hill's division alone took ten battle flags as this last move of the enemy burst upon our center. A panic seemed to seize them. Men laid down on the ground to escape our fire and lying there they supplicatingly held up white pieces of paper in token of surrender. In this repulse we took several thousand prisoners, and crowds of Rebel stragglers came into our lines giving themselves up in despair.

Gen. Hancock's corps now flanked the field, when crowds of disorganized Rebels threw up their arms and surrendered, while the field strewn with Rebel wounded, battle flags and arms fell into our possession.

The result amounted to a rout. Cavalry has been sent out to harvest the straggle[r]s. Gen. Hayes is said to have covered himself with glory. General Doubleday fell fighting gallantly, saying, as a ball pierced his head, "I'm killed ! I'm killed !" Gen. Hancock thinks he is not killed, but seriously wounded. And thus night has drawn her mantle over another bloody day, but a day so bright with deeds of heroism and grand results, with patriotic devotion and sublime death, that the page of History shall glitter with that light. . . .

This is universally allowed to have been the most des-

Lee was still
able to hold
his army to-
gether and
recross the
Potomac, but
it was the last
campaign in
the North.

perate battle of the war. The 20th Massachusetts went into action with two hundred and fifty and came out with NINETY-FIVE. . . .

New-York Tribune, July 6, 1863, p. 1.



I 24. The War and Slavery (1864)

I AM naturally antislavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel, and yet I have never understood that the presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling. It was in the oath I took that I would, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath. Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power and break the oath in using the power. I understood, too, that in ordinary civil administration this oath even forbade me to practically indulge my primary abstract judgment on the moral question of slavery. I had publicly declared this many times, and in many ways. And I aver that, to this day, I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on slavery. I did understand, however, that my oath to preserve the Constitution to the best of my ability imposed upon me the duty of preserving, by every indispensable means, that government — that nation, of which that Constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the nation and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law, life and limb must be protected, yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indis-

By ABRAHAM LINCOLN (1809-1865). This is a very clear presentation of President Lincoln's attitude on the two problems placed in his hands for solution on his assumption of the office of chief magistrate; it is also a clear enunciation of the reasons inducing him to proclaim military emancipation and to arm the blacks, with a fair-minded estimate of the results of that step.—For Lincoln's views on slavery, see above, Nos. 111, 120.—For slavery, see ch. xv., above.—For slavery in the Civil War,

see Nicolay and Hay,
Abraham Lincoln, a History (10 vols.); R. B. Warden, *Salmon P. Chase*; E. L. Pierce, *Charles Sumner* (4 vols.); Garrisons, *Life of William Lloyd Garrison told by his Children* (4 vols.).

Frémont's attempt, August 30, 1861; Cameron's, December 1, 1861; Hunter's, May 9, 1862.

pensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assumed this ground, and now avow it. I could not feel that, to the best of my ability, I had even tried to preserve the Constitution, if, to save slavery or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of government, country, and Constitution all together. When, early in the war, General Frémont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When, a little later, General Cameron, then Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When, still later, General Hunter attempted military emancipation, I again forbade it, because I did not yet think the indispensable necessity had come. When in March and May and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the border States to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation and arming the blacks would come unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition, and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it the Constitution, or of laying strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter. In choosing it, I hoped for greater gain than loss; but of this, I was not entirely confident. More than a year of trial now shows no loss by it in our foreign relations, none in our home popular sentiment, none in our white military force—no loss by it anywhere or anywhere. On the contrary it shows a gain of quite a hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, seamen, and laborers. These are palpable facts, about which, as facts, there can be no caviling. We have the men; and we could not have had them without the measure.

And now let any Union man who complains of the measure test himself by writing down in one line that he is for subduing the rebellion by force of arms; and in the next,

EXTRACT FROM THE PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION, JANUARY 1, 1863.

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose of
ocasion, I do order and declare that all persons held
as slaves within said designated states, and parts of
states, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that
the Executive government of the United States, includ-
ing the military and naval authorities thereof, will
recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared
to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in cases
of self-defense; and I recommend to them that,
in all cases where allowed, they labor faithfully
for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known,
that such persons of suitable condition, will be
received into the armed service of the United
States to garrison forts, positions, stations and other
places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said serv-
ice.

Know ye that this act, sincerely believed to be
an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, &c.
or military necessity, I invoke the considerate protec-
tion of mankind; and the gracious favor of Al-
mighty God.

I, witness whereof, have hereunto set my
hand and caused the seal of the United States
to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this first day of
January, in the year of our Lord one thousand
eight hundred and fifty three, and of the

G. D.
So. 2.
Independence of the United States
of America the eighty-seventh.

Abraham Lincoln
By the President;
William H. Seward,
Secretary of State

The above extract, including the essential parts of the final Proclamation of Emancipation, is reproduced, by permission of the Century Company, from Hay and Nicolay's *Abraham Lincoln*. The last two paragraphs and the attestation are in the hand-writing of William H. Seward. All the rest was written by President Lincoln.

that he is for taking these hundred and thirty thousand men from the Union side, and placing them where they would be but for the measure he condemns. If he cannot face his case so stated, it is only because he cannot face the truth.

. . . In telling this tale I attempt no compliment to my own sagacity. I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now, at the end of three years' struggle, the nation's condition is not what either party, or any man, devised or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God.

Abraham Lincoln, *Complete Works* (edited by John G. Nicolay and John Hay, New York, 1894), II, 508-509 *passim*.



125. Surrender of Lee (1865)

GENERAL GRANT began the conversation by saying : "I met you once before, General Lee, while we were serving in Mexico, when you came over from General Scott's headquarters to visit Garland's brigade, to which I then belonged. I have always remembered your appearance, and I think I should have recognized you anywhere." "Yes," replied General Lee, "I know I met you on that occasion, and I have often thought of it and tried to recollect how you looked, but I have never been able to recall a single feature." After some further mention of Mexico, General Lee said : "I suppose, General Grant, that the object of our present meeting is fully understood. I asked to see you to

By HORACE PORTER
(1837-)
who was on
the staff of
General McClellan
and served
with the
Army of the
Potomac till
after the bat-
tle of Antie-
tam. He
went
through the
Chicka-
mauga cam-
paign with
the Army of
the Cumber-
land. Com-

ing East as an aid-de-camp on Grant's staff, he accompanied him through the Wilderness campaign, the siege of Richmond and Petersburg, and was present at the siege of Appomattox. He came out brevet brigadier-general. His is an eye-witness's story of the closing event in the Civil War.—On the surrender, see *Contemporaries*, IV, No.

ascertain upon what terms you would receive the surrender of my army." General Grant replied: "The terms I propose are those stated substantially in my letter of yesterday, — that is, the officers and men surrendered to be paroled and disqualified from taking up arms again until properly exchanged, and all arms, ammunition, and supplies to be delivered up as captured property." Lee nodded an assent, and said: "Those are about the conditions which I expected would be proposed." General Grant then continued: "Yes, I think our correspondence indicated pretty clearly the action that would be taken at our meeting; and I hope it may lead to a general suspension of hostilities and be the means of preventing any further loss of life."

Lee inclined his head as indicating his accord with this wish, and General Grant then went on to talk at some length in a very pleasant vein about the prospects of peace. Lee was evidently anxious to proceed to the formal work of the surrender, and he brought the subject up again by saying:

"I presume, General Grant, we have both carefully considered the proper steps to be taken, and I would suggest that you commit to writing the terms you have proposed, so that they may be formally acted upon."

"Very well," replied General Grant, "I will write them out." And calling for his manifold order-book, he opened it on the table before him and proceeded to write the terms. The leaves had been so prepared that three impressions of the writing were made. He wrote very rapidly, and did not pause until he had finished the sentence ending with "officers appointed by me to receive them." Then he looked toward Lee, and his eyes seemed to be resting on the handsome sword that hung at that officer's side. He said afterward that this set him to thinking that it would be an unnecessary humiliation to require the officers to surrender their swords, and a great hardship to deprive them of their personal baggage and horses, and after a short pause he wrote

the sentence : "This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage." . . . When this had been done, he handed the book to General Lee and asked him to read over the letter. . . .

. . . When Lee came to the sentence about the officers' side-arms, private horses, and baggage, he showed for the first time during the reading of the letter a slight change of countenance, and was evidently touched by this act of generosity. It was doubtless the condition mentioned to which he particularly alluded when he looked toward General Grant as he finished reading and said with some degree of warmth in his manner : "This will have a very happy effect upon my army."

General Grant then said : "Unless you have some suggestions to make in regard to the form in which I have stated the terms, I will have a copy of the letter made in ink and sign it."

"There is one thing I would like to mention," Lee replied after a short pause. "The cavalrymen and artillerists own their own horses in our army. Its organization in this respect differs from that of the United States." This expression attracted the notice of our officers present, as showing how firmly the conviction was grounded in his mind that we were two distinct countries. He continued : "I would like to understand whether these men will be permitted to retain their horses?"

"You will find that the terms as written do not allow this," General Grant replied ; "only the officers are permitted to take their private property."

Lee read over the second page of the letter again, and then said :

"No, I see the terms do not allow it ; that is clear." His face showed plainly that he was quite anxious to have this concession made, and Grant said very promptly and without giving Lee time to make a direct request :

"Well, the subject is quite new to me. Of course I did not know that any private soldiers owned their animals, but I think this will be the last battle of the war — I sincerely hope so — and that the surrender of this army will be followed soon by that of all the others, and I take it that most of the men in the ranks are small farmers, and as the country has been so raided by the two armies, it is doubtful whether they will be able to put in a crop to carry themselves and their families through the next winter without the aid of the horses they are now riding, and I will arrange it in this way : I will not change the terms as now written, but I will instruct the officers I shall appoint to receive the paroles to let all the men who claim to own a horse or mule take the animals home with them to work their little farms." (This expression has been quoted in various forms and has been the subject of some dispute. I give the exact words used.) . . .

. . . General Lee now took the initiative again in leading the conversation back into business channels. He said :

"I have a thousand or more of your men as prisoners, General Grant, a number of them officers whom we have required to march along with us for several days. I shall be glad to send them into your lines as soon as it can be arranged, for I have no provisions for them. I have, indeed, nothing for my own men. They have been living for the last few days principally upon parched corn, and we are badly in need of both rations and forage. . . .

. . . General Grant replied : "I should like to have our men sent within our lines as soon as possible. I will take steps at once to have your army supplied with rations, but I am sorry we have no forage for the animals." . . .

. . . At a little before 4 o'clock General Lee shook hands with General Grant, bowed to the other officers, and with Colonel Marshall left the room. One after another we followed, and passed out to the porch. Lee signaled to his orderly to bring up his horse, and while the animal was being

bridled the general stood on the lowest step and gazed sadly in the direction of the valley beyond where his army lay — now an army of prisoners. He smote his hands together a number of times in an absent sort of a way ; seemed not to see the group of Union officers in the yard who rose respectfully at his approach, and appeared unconscious of everything about him. All appreciated the sadness that overwhelmed him, and he had the personal sympathy of every one who beheld him at this supreme moment of trial. The approach of his horse seemed to recall him from his reverie, and he at once mounted. General Grant now stepped down from the porch, and, moving toward him, saluted him by raising his hat. He was followed in this act of courtesy by all our officers present ; Lee raised his hat respectfully, and rode off to break the sad news to the brave fellows whom he had so long commanded.

Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, editors,
Battles and Leaders of the Civil War (Century Company,
New York, 1889), IV, 737-743 *passim*.



126. Abraham Lincoln (1865)

V.

LIFFE may be given in many ways,
And loyalty to Truth be sealed
As bravely in the closet as the field,
So generous is Fate ;
But then to stand beside her
When craven churls deride her,
To front a lie in arms and not to yield, —
This shows, methinks, God's plan
And measure of a stalwart man,

By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, for whom see above, No. 104. — This is a great tribute to the greatest man in our country's history.

Limbed like the old heroic breeds,
 Who stands self-poised on manhood's solid earth,
 Not forced to frame excuses for his birth,
 Fed from within with all the strength he needs.

VI.

Such was he, our Martyr-chief,
 Whom late the Nation he had led,
 With ashes on her head,
 Wept with the passion of an angry grief :
 Forgive me if from present things I turn
 To speak what in my heart will beat and burn,
 And hang my wreath on his world-honored urn.
 Nature, they say, doth dote,
 And cannot make a man
 Save on some worn-out plan,
 Repeating us by rote ;
 For him her Old-World mould aside she threw,
 And, choosing sweet clay from the breast
 Of the unexhausted West,
 With stuff untainted shaped a hero new,
 Wise, steadfast in the strength of God, and true.
 How beautiful to see
 Once more a shepherd of mankind indeed
 Who loved his charge, but never loved to lead,
 One whose meek flock the people joyed to be,
 Not lured by any cheat of birth,
 But by his clear-grained human worth,
 And brave old wisdom of sincerity !
 They knew that outward grace is dust,
 They could not choose but trust
 In that sure-footed mind's unfaltering skill,
 And supple-tempered will
 That bent like perfect steel to spring again and thrust.
 [His was no lonely mountain-peak of mind,

Thrusting to thin air o'er our cloudy bars,
 A sea-mark now, now lost in vapors blind ;
 Broad prairie rather, genial, level-lined,
 Fruitful and friendly for all human kind,

closed in
brackets are
not in the
original 1865
edition.

Yet also nigh to heaven and loved of loftiest stars.]

Nothing of Europe here,
 Or, then, of Europe fronting mornward still,
 Ere any names of Serf and Peer
 Could Nature's equal scheme deface ;
 [And thwart her genial will ;]
 Here was a type of the true elder race,
 And one of Plutarch's men talked with us face to face.

I praise him not ; it were too late ;
 And some innate weakness there must be
 In him who condescends to victory
 Such as the Present gives, and cannot wait,
 Safe in himself as in a fate.

So always firmly he ;
 He knew to bide his time
 And can his fame abide,
 Still patient in his simple faith sublime,
 Till the wise years decide ;
 Great captains, with their guns and drums,
 Disturb our judgment for the hour ;
 But at last silence comes ;
 These all are gone, and, standing like a tower,
 Our children shall behold his fame,
 The kindly-earnest, brave, foreseeing man,
 Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
 New birth of our new soil, the first American.

James Russell Lowell, *Ode recited at the Commemoration of the Living and Dead Soldiers of Harvard University, July 21, 1865* (Cambridge, 1865), 15-18.

CHAPTER XIX—RECONSTRUCTION, 1865–1871

By SIDNEY ANDREWS, who spent the months of September, October, and November, 1865, in the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, as correspondent of the *Boston Advertiser* and the *Chicago Tribune*.

His letters to those papers were published in book form during the spring of the next year.

He observed closely and commented intelligently on what he saw.—On the negro, see *Contemporaries*, IV, ch.

—On reconstruction, see *American Orations*, IV, 3–15, 125–188; *American History Studies*,

I 27. Condition of the South (1865)

A CITY of ruins, of desolation, of vacant houses, of widowed women, of rotting wharves, of deserted warehouses, of weed-wild gardens, of miles of grass-grown streets, of acres of pitiful and voiceful barrenness,—that is Charleston, wherein Rebellion loftily reared its head five years ago, on whose beautiful promenade the fairest of cultured women gathered with passionate hearts to applaud the assault of ten thousand upon the little garrison of Fort Sumter! . . .

We never again can have the Charleston of the decade previous to the war. The beauty and pride of the city are as dead as the glories of Athens. Five millions of dollars could not restore the ruin of these four past years; and that sum is so far beyond the command of the city as to seem the boundless measure of immeasurable wealth. Yet, after all, Charleston was Charleston because of the hearts of its people. St. Michael's Church, they held, was the centre of the universe; and the aristocracy of the city were the very elect of God's children on earth. One marks now how few young men there are, how generally the young women are dressed in black. The flower of their proud aristocracy is buried on scores of battle-fields. If it were possible to restore the broad acres of crumbling ruins to their foretime style and uses, there would even then be but the dead body of Charleston. . . .

Of Massachusetts men, some are already in business here,

and others came on to "see the lay of the land," as one of them said. "That's all right," observed an ex-Rebel captain in one of our after-dinner chats,— "that's all right ; let's have Massachusetts and South Carolina brought together, for they are the only two States that amount to anything." . . .

No. 9; *Contemporaries*, IV, ch.

See above.
Nos. 35, 94—
101, 116, 119,
124.

There are many Northern men here already, though one cannot say that there is much Northern society, for the men are either without families or have left them at home. Walking out yesterday with a former Charlestonian,— a man who left here in the first year of the war and returned soon after our occupation of the city,— he pointed out to me the various "Northern houses"; and I shall not exaggerate if I say that this classification appeared to include at least half the stores on each of the principal streets. "The presence of these men," said he, "was at first very distasteful to our people, and they are not liked any too well now ; but we know they are doing a good work for the city."

I fell into some talk with him concerning the political situation, and found him of bitter spirit toward what he was pleased to denominate "the infernal radicals." When I asked him what should be done, he answered : "You Northern people are making a great mistake in your treatment of the South. We are thoroughly whipped ; we give up slavery forever ; and now we want you to quit reproaching us. Let us back into the Union, and then come down here and help us build up the country." . . .

Business is reviving slowly, though perhaps the more surely. The resident merchants are mostly at the bottom of the ladder of prosperity. They have idled away the summer in vain regrets for vanished hopes, and most of them are only just now beginning to wake to the new life. Some have already been North for goods, but more are preparing to go ; not heeding that, while they vacillate with laggard time, Northern men are springing in with hands swift to catch

opportunity. It pains me to see the apathy and indifference that so generally prevails; but the worst feature of the situation is, that so many young men are not only idle, but give no promise of being otherwise in the immediate future.

Many of the stores were more or less injured by the shelling. A few of these have been already repaired, and are now occupied,—very likely by Northern men. A couple of dozen, great and small, are now in process of repair; and scores stand with closed shutters or gaping doors and windows. . . . Rents of eligible store-rooms are at least from one fourth to one third higher than before the war, and resident business men say only Northern men who intend staying but a short time can afford to pay present prices. . . .

"March to
the Sea,"
1864.

It would seem that it is not clearly understood how thoroughly Sherman's army destroyed everything in its line of march,—destroyed it without questioning who suffered by the action. That this wholesale destruction was often without orders, and often against most positive orders, does not change the fact of destruction. The Rebel leaders were, too, in their way, even more wanton, and just as thorough as our army in destroying property. They did not burn houses and barns and fences as we did; but, during the last three months of the war, they burned immense quantities of cotton and rosin.

The action of the two armies put it out of the power of men to pay their debts. The values and the bases of value were nearly all destroyed. Money lost about everything it had saved. Thousands of men who were honest in purpose have lost everything but honor. The cotton with which they meant to pay their debts has been burned, and they are without other means. What is the part of wisdom in respect to such men? It certainly cannot be to strip them of the last remnant. Many of them will pay in whole or in part, if proper consideration be shown them. It is no question

of favor to any one as a favor, but a pure question of business,—how shall the commercial relations of the two sections be re-established? In determining it, the actual and exceptional condition of the State with respect to property should be constantly borne in mind. . . .

That Rebellion sapped the foundations of commercial integrity in the State is beyond question. That much of the Northern indebtedness will never be paid is also beyond question. . . .

The city is under thorough military rule; but the iron hand rests very lightly. Soldiers do police duty, and there is some nine-o'clock regulation; but, so far as I can learn, anybody goes anywhere at all hours of the night without molestation. "There never was such good order here before," said an old colored man to me. The main street is swept twice a week, and all garbage is removed at sunrise. "If the Yankees was to stay here always and keep the city so clean, I don't reckon we'd have 'yellow jack' here any more," was a remark I overheard on the street. "Now is de fust time sence I can 'mem'er when brack men was safe in d. street af'er nightfall," stated the negro tailor in whose shop I sat an hour yesterday.

Sidney Andrews, *The South since the War* (Boston, 1866), 1-8
passim.

128. A Negro School (1862)

ONE bright November morning I started to take possession of my contraband school. . . .

The schoolhouse to which I was appointed was a rough, wooden building standing on palmetto posts two or three feet from the ground, with an open piazza on one side. When I first came in sight of this building, the piazza was crowded with children, all screaming and chattering like a

By ELIZABETH HYDE BOTUME, one of the first teachers of the negro on the Carolina coast, and one who knows the South from personal acquaintance

both before and after the war. Her narrative shows her to be a keen observer and an accurate reporter. It deals with the contrabands, chiefly the women and children, telling of their escape from the war and of the attempts to educate them. Though marked by some confusion of arrangement, it seems to be founded on a contemporary journal. — On the negroes in reconstruction, see *Contemporaries*, IV, ch.

flock of jays and blackbirds in a quarrel. But as soon as they saw me they all gave a whoop and a bound and disappeared. When I reached the door there was no living thing to be seen; all was literally "as still as a mouse;" so I inspected my new quarters while waiting for my forces.

There was one good sized room without partitions; it was not ceiled, but besides the usual heavy board shutters its six windows were glazed. This was a luxury which belonged to but few of the school-buildings. Indeed, these glazed windows had been held up to me as a marked feature in my new location.

The furniture consisted of a few wooden benches, a tall pine desk with a high office stool, one narrow blackboard leaning against a post, and a huge box stove large enough to warm a Puritan meeting-house in the olden times. The pipe of the stove was put through one window.

. . . I believe this was the first building ever erected exclusively for a colored school. . . . All the "contraband schools" were at that time kept in churches, or cotton-barns, or old kitchens. Some teachers had their classes in tents.

Inspection over, I vigorously rang a little cracked hand-bell which I found on the desk. Then I saw several pairs of bright eyes peering in at the open door. But going towards them, there was a general scampering, and I could only see a head or a foot disappearing under the house. Again I rang the bell, with the same result, until I began to despair of getting my scholars together. When I turned my back they all came out. When I faced about they darted off. In time, however, I succeeded in capturing one small urchin, who howled vociferously, "O Lord! O Lord!" This brought out the others, who seemed a little scared and much amused. I soon reassured my captive, so the rest came in. Then I tried to "seat" them, which was about as easy as keeping so many marbles in place on a smooth floor. Going towards half a dozen little fellows huddled

together on one bench, they simultaneously darted down under the seat, and scampered off on their hands and feet to a corner of the room, looking very much like a family of frightened kittens. . . . I "halted" the rest, and got them on to their feet and into their seats. Then I looked them over. . . .

All these children were black as ink and as shy as wild animals. . . . I tried in vain to fix upon some distinguishing mark by which I might know one from another. Some of these children had been in a school before, but they were afraid of white people, and especially of strangers. As they said of a teacher on a subsequent occasion, "Us ain't know she." . . .

. . . In time, after some more skirmishing, the little gang before me was brought into a degree of order. They listened, apparently, with open mouths and staring eyes to what I had to say. But I soon discovered my words were like an unknown tongue to them. I must first know something of their dialect in order that we might understand each other.

Now I wished to take down the names of these children; so I turned to the girl nearest me and said, "What is your name?"

"It is Phyllis, ma'am."

"But what is your other name?"

"Only Phyllis, ma'am."

I then explained that we all have two names; but she still replied, "Nothing but Phyllis, ma'am."

Upon this an older girl started up and exclaimed, "Pshaw, gal! What's you'm title?" whereupon she gave the name of her old master.

After this each child gave two names, most of them funny combinations. Sometimes they would tell me one thing, and when asked to repeat it, would say something quite different. . . .

I thought of Adam's naming the animals, and wondered if he had been as much puzzled as I. Certainly he gave out the names at first hand, and had no conflicting incongruities to puzzle him. In time I enrolled fifteen names, the number present.

The next morning I called the roll, but no one answered, so I was obliged to go around again and make out a new list. I could not distinguish one from another. They looked like so many peas in a pod. The woolly heads of the girls and boys looked just alike. All wore indiscriminately any cast-off garments given them, so it was not easy to tell "which was which." Were there twenty-five new scholars, or only ten?

The third morning it was the same work over again. There were forty children present, many of them large boys and girls. I had already a list of over forty names. Amongst these were most of the months of the year and days of the week, besides a number of Pompeys, Cudjos, Sambos, and Rhinas, and Rosas and Floras. I now wrote down forty new names, and I began to despair of ever getting regulated. . . .

Elizabeth Hyde Botume, *First Days amongst the Contrabands*
(Boston, 1893), 41-47 *passim*.

By ROBERT
EDWARD
LEE (1807-
1870), com-
manding
general of the
armies of the
Confederacy.
After the war
Lee retired to
private life,
taking a posi-
tion as presi-

I29. A Southerner's Advice on Reconstruction (1865)

. . . I HAVE received your letter of the 23d ult. [August, 1865], and in reply will state the course I have pursued under circumstances similar to your own, and will leave you to judge of its propriety. Like yourself, I have, since the cessation of hostilities, advised

all with whom I have conversed on the subject, who come within the terms of the President's proclamations, to take the oath of allegiance, and accept in good faith the amnesty offered. But I have gone further, and have recommended to those who were excluded from their benefits, to make application under the *proviso* of the proclamation of the 29th of May, to be embraced in its provisions. Both classes, in order to be restored to their former rights and privileges, were required to perform a certain act, and I do not see that an acknowledgment of fault is expressed in one more than the other. The war being at an end, the Southern States having laid down their arms, and the questions at issue between them and the Northern States having been decided, I believe it to be the duty of every one to unite in the restoration of the country, and the reestablishment of peace and harmony. These considerations governed me in the counsels I gave to others, and induced me on the 13th of June to make application to be included in the terms of the amnesty proclamation. I have not received an answer, and cannot inform you what has been the decision of the President. But, whatever that may be, I do not see how the course I have recommended and practised can prove detrimental to the former President of the Confederate States. It appears to me that the allayment of passion, the dissipation of prejudice, and the restoration of reason, will alone enable the people of the country to acquire a true knowledge and form a correct judgment of the events of the past four years. It will, I think, be admitted that Mr. Davis has done nothing more than all the citizens of the Southern States, and should not be held accountable for acts performed by them in the exercise of what had been considered by them unquestionable right. I have too exalted an opinion of the American people to believe that they will consent to injustice; and it is only necessary, in my opinion, that truth should be known, for the rights of every one to be

dent of Washington College at Lexington, Virginia, now Washington and Lee University, and lent his influence to the work of reconciling the South to the new situation. This letter, written to a private person, throws the best light on the attitude which he had adopted and which he sought to induce others to adopt.—On Lee, see *Contemporaries*, IV, No.

.—On the condition of the Southern whites, see *Contemporaries*, IV, ch.

(Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1874, by D. Appleton and Company.)

secured. I know of no surer way of eliciting the truth than by burying contention with the war. . . .

Reverend J. William Jones, *Personal Reminiscences, Anecdotes, and Letters of Gen. Robert E. Lee* (New York, 1875), 205-206.

By THADDEUS STEVENS (1792-1868). From March, 1859, to his death in August, 1868, he was one of the leaders of the most advanced wing of the Republicans in the national House of Representatives. He initiated and had a large share in the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, and, as chairman of the House Committee on Reconstruction, reported the bill dividing the South into five military districts until it should adopt constitutions granting suffrage and equal rights to negroes. In a speech of February 24,

I 30. Congressional Reconstruction (1865)

. . . NO one doubts, that the late rebel States have lost their constitutional relations to the Union, and are incapable of representation in Congress, except by permission of the Government. It matters but little, with this admission, whether you call them States out of the Union, and now conquered territories, or assert that because the Constitution forbids them to do what they did do, that they are therefore only dead as to all national and political action, and will remain so until the Government shall breathe into them the breath of life anew and permit them to occupy their former position. In other words, that they are not out of the Union, but are only dead carcasses lying within the Union. In either case, it is very plain that it requires the action of Congress to enable them to form a State government and send representatives to Congress. Nobody, I believe, pretends that with their old constitutions and frames of government they can be permitted to claim their old rights under the Constitution. They have torn their constitutional States into atoms, and built on their foundations fabrics of a totally different character. Dead men cannot raise themselves. Dead States cannot restore their own existence "as it was." Whose especial duty is it to do it? In whom does the Constitution place the power? Not in the judicial branch of Government, for it only adjudicates and does not prescribe laws. Not in the Executive, for he only executes and cannot make laws. Not in the Commander-

in-Chief of the armies, for he can only hold them under military rule until the sovereign legislative power of the conqueror shall give them law. . . .

Congress alone can do it. But Congress does not mean the Senate, or the House of Representatives, and President, all acting severally. Their joint action constitutes Congress. . . . Congress must create States and declare when they are entitled to be represented. Then each House must judge whether the members presenting themselves from a recognized State possess the requisite qualifications of age, residence, and citizenship; and whether the election and returns are according to law. The Houses, separately, can judge of nothing else. It seems amazing that any man of legal education could give it any larger meaning.

It is obvious from all this that the first duty of Congress is to pass a law declaring the condition of these outside or defunct States, and providing proper civil governments for them. Since the conquest they have been governed by martial law. Military rule is necessarily despotic, and ought not to exist longer than is absolutely necessary. As there are no symptoms that the people of these provinces will be prepared to participate in constitutional government for some years, I know of no arrangement so proper for them as territorial governments. There they can learn the principles of freedom and eat the fruit of foul rebellion. Under such governments, while electing members to the Territorial Legislatures, they will necessarily mingle with those to whom Congress shall extend the right of suffrage. In Territories Congress fixes the qualifications of electors; and I know of no better place nor better occasion for the conquered rebels and the conqueror to practice justice to all men, and accustom themselves to make and obey equal laws. . . .

According to my judgment they ought never to be recognized as capable of acting in the Union, or of being counted as valid States, until the Constitution shall have been so

1868, he proposed the impeachment of Johnson, was one of the committee of seven to prepare the articles, and was chairman of the board of managers appointed to conduct the trial. This extract, from a speech of December 18, 1865, well illustrates his extreme Republican theory.—On Stevens, see *American Orations*, IV, 458.—On congressional reconstruction, see No. 127 above.

amended as to make it what its framers intended ; and so as to secure perpetual ascendancy to the party of the Union ; and so as to render our republican Government firm and stable forever. The first of those amendments is to change the basis of representation among the States from Federal numbers to actual voters. . . .

But this is not all that we ought to do before these inveterate rebels are invited to participate in our legislation. We have turned, or are about to turn, loose four million slaves without a hut to shelter them or a cent in their pockets. The infernal laws of slavery have prevented them from acquiring an education, understanding the commonest laws of contract, or of managing the ordinary business of life. This Congress is bound to provide for them until they can take care of themselves. If we do not furnish them with homesteads, and hedge them around with protective laws ; if we leave them to the legislation of their late masters, we had better have left them in bondage. Their condition would be worse than that of our prisoners at Andersonville. If we fail in this great duty now, when we have the power, we shall deserve and receive the execration of history and of all future ages.

Congressional Globe, 39 Cong., 1 sess. (Washington, 1866), Part I, 72-74 *passim*.

By GENERAL
OLIVER
OTIS HOW-
ARD (1830-
), who
served with
distinction
during the
war, and
after its close,
from May,

I31. A Military Governor in Louisiana (1865-1866)

IN no other State have there arisen so many difficult questions with reference to labor, the status of the freedmen, and the power of military authorities. The assistant commissioner of the State has been able to give general

satisfaction to the whites and freedmen, and aid in the restoration of law and order. Harmonious relations have existed between the State officials and bureau officers, which has materially aided the administration of the bureau. I am sorry to report a lack of hearty co-operation on the part of the municipal authorities of New Orleans with the plans of General Baird for the employment, protection, and education of the freedmen. Much that is to be regretted with reference to the present condition of colored people of New Orleans can be traced to this cause.

A large amount of abandoned property was held by the bureau officer during the year 1865, but was restored as rapidly as claimants could present proper proofs of ownership and loyalty. This property, consisting of large plantations and city property, furnished all the funds necessary to carry on the affairs of the bureau[.] As nearly all of this property was restored prior to January 1, 1866, this source of revenue has ceased. . . .

General Baird reports that "outrages upon freedmen reported from the distant parishes of the State remain uncorrected for want of adequate military force to make arrests. This condition of affairs can only be remedied by force. The perpetrators of the outrages are lawless and irresponsible men, the terror of property holders and laborers. They are countenanced by the community, either through sympathy or fear."

General Sheridan says: "Homicides are frequent in some localities; sometimes they are investigated by a coroner's jury, which justifies the act and releases the perpetrator; in other instances, when the proof comes to the knowledge of an agent of the bureau, the parties are held to bail in a nominal sum, for appearance at the next term of court, but the trial of a white man for the killing of a freedman can, in the existing state of society in this State, be nothing more or less than a farce."

1865, to July, 1874, was commissioner of the Freedman's Bureau at Washington. General Sheridan, whom he largely quotes in his report, had a low opinion of the politicians of Louisiana and Texas, and was in favor of strong measures. From July 17 to August 15, 1866, Sheridan was in charge of the military division of the Gulf, and later, by the act of March 2, 1867, dividing the ten Southern States into five military districts, he was put in command of the fifth district, which included Louisiana and Texas.

Baird was assistant commissioner of Louisiana.

I regret that the reports of officers of the bureau reveal such a bad state of society. It will be impossible for the military authorities to restore order and remedy the evils complained of by General Sheridan without an increase of the number of troops in the State. . . .

General Baird says: "The 'civil rights bill' has gone into operation in this State, and is having a good effect, restraining those who are disposed to set United States laws at defiance or to treat them with contempt. Several magistrates are under arrest for violating its provisions. The machinery for the execution of the law is yet in a very imperfect condition."

General Sheridan reports: "That the location of homesteads by the freedmen is progressing favorably, but it is a question whether they will be allowed to remain peaceably upon the lands selected." The agent for the location of homesteads reports depredations on the public lands, such as cutting timber, &c., by white citizens. Circumstances beyond the control of the bureau have greatly injured the once prosperous schools of this State. Enemies of the bureau and its officers have made a general attack upon the school administration. General Baird, being without money, was obliged to suspend all the public schools, promising that as soon as possible they should commence again. The colored people seeing their public schools closed did not abandon the education of their children, but opened a large number of private schools. A tax system was devised by which the people were to support their own education. For many reasons this tax became oppressive, and was never popular. The schools rapidly decreased, and a chaotic state ensued from which it took time to recover.

General Sheridan reports, under date of September 30, a great increase of interest, and the prospect of flourishing schools this autumn and winter. The present number of schools is 73; teachers, 90; scholars, 3,389.

The number of irregular and private schools cannot at present be ascertained, but they are numerous.

General Sheridan reports that the total suspension of the issue of rations will cause much distress among the people that most need aid, viz, widows and families of soldiers killed in the army, and that the cotton and corn crop is nearly an entire failure in some parishes. He has found it impossible to induce [t]he State authorities to provide for either white or black paupers.

The number of rations issued in this State from June 1, 1865, to September 1, 1866, (one year and three months,) was as follows: Aggregate, 612,788 — to whites, 157,491; to freedmen, 455,290; average rations per month, 40,852; average freedmen and refugees assisted daily, 1,362.

Tnearly =
nearly; by a
printer's
error in the
original, the
"t" evidently
slipped from
its proper
place in the
word "the"
below.

Report of the Secretary of War, *House Executive Documents*, 39 Cong., 2 sess. No. 1 (Washington, 1867), III, 742-744 *passim*.



132. Failure of Reconstruction (1871)

I PROPOSE to lay aside all partisanship, and simply to state facts as I conceive them to exist. Let us look at our State when the reconstruction acts first took effect in 1868.

A social revolution had been accomplished—an entire reversal of the political relations of most of our people had ensued. The class which formerly held all the political power of our State were stripped of all.

The class which had formerly been less than citizens, with no political power or social position, were made the sole depositaries of the political power of the State. I refer now to practical results, not to theories. The numerical relations of the two races here were such that one race,

By DANIEL HENRY CHAMBERLAIN (1835-), a Massachusetts man who served in the Union army, and after the war, in 1866, removed to South Carolina and became a cotton planter. From 1868 to 1872 he was attorney-general of South Carolina, and in 1875 was elected

governor of the State. His testimony is very interesting, coming as it does from one who, if he were inclined to be partial, would lean rather to the side of the national government.

under the new laws, held absolute political control of the State.

The attitude and action of both races under these new conditions, while not unnatural, was, as I must think, unwise and unfortunate. One race stood aloft and haughtily refused to seek the confidence of the race which was just entering on its new powers; while the other race quickly grasped all the political power which the new order of things had placed within their reach.

From the nature of the case, the one race were devoid of political experience, of all or nearly all education, and depended mainly for all these qualities upon those who, for the most part, chanced to have drifted here from other States, or who, in very rare instances, being former residents of the State, now allied themselves with the other race. No man of common prudence, or who was even slightly familiar with the working of social forces, could have then failed to see that the elements which went to compose the now dominant party were not of the kind which produce public virtue and honor, or which could long secure even public order and peace.

I make all just allowance for exceptional cases of individual character, but I say that the result to be expected, from the very nature of the situation in 1868, was that a scramble for office would ensue among the members of the party in power, which, again, from the nature of the case, must result in filling the offices of the State, local and general, with men of no capacity and little honesty or desire to really serve the public.

The nation had approved the reconstruction measures, not because they seemed to be free of danger, nor because they were blind to the very grave possibilities of future evils, but in the hope that the one race, wearing its new laurels and using its new powers with modesty and forbearance, would gradually remove the prejudices and enlist the sym-

pathies and coöperation of the other race, until a fair degree of political homogeneity should be reached, and race lines should cease to mark the limits of political parties.

Three years have passed, and the result is—what? Incompetency, dishonesty, corruption in all its forms, have “advanced their miscreated fronts,” have put to flight the small remnant that opposed them, and now rules the party which rules the State.

Error in original.

You may imagine the chagrin with which I make this statement. Truth alone compels it. My eyes see it—all my senses testify to the startling and sad fact. I can never be indifferent to anything which touches the fair fame of that great national party to which all my deepest convictions attach me, and I repel the libel which the party bearing that name in this State is daily pouring upon us. I am a republican by habit, by conviction, by association, but my republicanism is not, I trust, composed solely of equal parts of ignorance and rapacity.

Such is the plain statement of the present condition of the dominant party of our State.

What is the remedy? That a change will come, and come speedily, let no man doubt. Corruption breeds its own kind. Ignorance rushes to its downfall. Close behind any political party which tolerates such qualities in its public representatives stalks the headsman. If the result is merely political disruption, let us be profoundly thankful. Let us make haste to prevent it from being social disruption—the sundering of all the bonds which make society and government possible.

Charleston Daily Republican, May 8, 1871; quoted in *Testimony taken by the Joint Select Committee to inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States.—South Carolina*, Part II (Washington, 1872), IV, Appendix iv, 1250–1251. (This is the same as Senate Report, 42 Cong., 2 sess., No. 41, pt. 4.)

CHAPTER XX—UNION RESTORED, 1871-1885

By SAMUEL JONES TILDEN (1814-1886).* By 1868 Tilden had come to be recognized as the leader of the Democratic party in New York State. The celebrated exposure of the "Tweed Ring" appeared in the *New York Times* in July, 1871; but Tilden had taken a stand against this corrupt faction a year earlier through his decided opposition to the "Tweed charter." He also denounced the "side-partners" of Tweed, who, with the aid of the courts, were plundering the stock-holders of the Erie Railroad.—

133. Iniquities of the Tweed Ring (1869-1871)

THE Ring had its origin in the Board of Supervisors. That body was created by an Act passed in 1857 in connection with the charter of that year. The Act provided that but six persons should be voted for by each elector, and twelve should be chosen. In other words, the nominees of the Republican and Democratic party caucuses should be elected. At the next session the term was extended to six years. So we had a body composed of six Republicans and six Democrats, to change a majority of which you must control the primaries of both of the great National and State parties for four years in succession. Not an easy job, certainly! . . .

The Ring was doubly a Ring; it was a Ring between the six Republican and the six Democratic supervisors. It soon grew to a Ring between the Republican majority in Albany and the half-and-half supervisors, and a few Democratic officials of this city.

The very definition of a Ring is that it encircles enough influential men in the organization of each party to control the action of both party machines,—men who in public push to extremes the abstract ideas of their respective parties, while they secretly join their hands in schemes for personal power and profit.

The Republican partners had the superior power. They

* Copyright, 1885.

could create such institutions as the Board of Supervisors, and could abolish them at will. They could extinguish offices and substitute others ; change the laws which fix their duration, functions, and responsibilities ; and nearly always could invoke the executive power of removal. The Democratic members, who in some city offices represented the "firm" to the supposed prejudices of a local Democratic majority, were under the necessity of submitting to whatever terms the Albany legislators imposed ; and at length found out by experience, what they had not intellect to foresee,—that all real power was in Albany. They began to go there in person to share it. The lucrative city offices—subordinate appointments, which each head of department could create at pleasure, with salaries in his discretion, distributed among the friends of the legislators ; contracts ; money contributed by city officials, assessed on their subordinates, raised by jobs under the departments, and sometimes taken from the city treasury — were the pabulum of corrupt influence which shaped and controlled all legislation. Every year the system grew worse as a governmental institution, and became more powerful and more corrupt. The executive departments gradually swallowed up all local powers, and themselves were mere deputies of legislators at Albany, on whom alone they were dependent. The Mayor and Common Council ceased to have much legal authority, and lost all practical influence. There was nobody to represent the people of the city ; there was no discussion, there was no publicity. Cunning and deceptive provisions of law concocted in the secrecy of the departments, commissions, and bureaus, agreed upon in the lobbies at Albany between the city officials and the legislators or their go-betweens, appeared on the statute book after every session. In this manner all institutions of government, all taxation, all appropriations of money for our million of people were formed. For many years there was no time when a vote

On the
Tweed Ring,
see *Contem-
poraries*, IV,
No. ; on
the period,
*American
Orations*, IV,
191-420;
*Contempora-
ries*, IV, ch.

at a city election would in any practical degree or manner affect the city government.

The Ring became completely organized and matured on the 1st of January, 1869, when Mr. A. Oakey Hall became mayor. Mr. Connolly had been comptroller two years earlier. Its power had already become great, but was as nothing compared with what it acquired on the 5th of April, 1870, by an Act which was a mere legislative grant of the offices, giving the powers of local government to individuals of the Ring for long periods, and freed from all accountability, as if their names had been mentioned as grantees in the Bill. Its duration was through 1869, 1870, and 1871, until its overthrow at the election of November, when it lost most of the senators and assemblymen from this city, and was shaken in its hold on the legislative power of the State. . . .

In 1870, for the first time in four and twenty years, the Democrats had the law-making power. They had in the Senate just one vote, and in the Assembly seven votes, more than were necessary to pass a Bill,—if so rare a thing should happen as that every member was present and all should agree. This result brought more dismay than joy to the Ring. They had intrenched themselves in the legislative bodies against the people of this city. But the Democratic party was bound by countless pledges to restore local government to the voting power of the people of the city. The Ring could trade in the lobbies at Albany, or with the half-and-half Supervisors in the mysterious chambers of that Board. They might even risk a popular vote on mayor, if secure in the departments which had all the patronage and which could usually elect their own candidate. But they had no stomach for a free fight over the whole government, at a separate election.

Their motives were obvious, on a general view of human nature. None but the Ring then knew that in the secret recesses of the Supervisors, and other similar bureaus, were

hidden ten millions of bills largely fraudulent, and that, in the perspective, were eighteen other millions, nearly all fraudulent. . . .

. . . Tweed was in his office until April, 1874; Connolly until 1875, and Sweeney until 1875. They, with the mayor, were vested with the exclusive legal power of appropriating all moneys raised by taxes or by loans, and an indefinite authority to borrow. Practically, they held all power of municipal legislation and all power of expending as well as of appropriating moneys. . . .

They wielded the enormous patronage of offices and contracts; they swayed all the institutions of local government,—the local judiciary, the unhappily localized portion of the State judiciary, which includes the Circuit Courts, the Oyer and Terminers, the Special Terms and the General Terms,—in a word, everything below the Court of Appeals. They also controlled the whole machinery of elections. New York city, with its million of people, with its concentration of vast interests of individuals in other States and in foreign countries, with its conspicuous position before the world, had practically no power of self-government. It was ruled, and was to be ruled so long as the terms of these offices continued,—from four to eight years,—as if it were a conquered province. The central source of all this power was Albany. The system emanated from Albany; it could only be changed at Albany. . . .

Samuel J. Tilden, *Writings and Speeches* (edited by John Bigelow, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1885), I, 560–582 *passim*.

Tilden was the leading spirit in impeachment proceedings against Judges Carodozo and Barnard, tools of the Ring.

134. Treaty of Washington (1871)

THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON, whether it be regarded in the light of its general spirit and object, of its particular stipulations, or of its relation to the high con-

By CALEB CUSHING (1800–1879). Cushing had considerable diplomatic experi-

ence. As American commissioner in China in 1844, he negotiated the first treaty between that country and the United States, and was later our Chinese minister. In 1868 he was sent by the government to Bogotá on a diplomatic mission. In 1872 he was one of the council for the United States at the Geneva conference for the settlement of the Alabama claims. From 1874 to 1877 he was minister to Spain. His *Treaty of Washington* was published in 1877. This extract is an example of a careful work written by a participant in a negotiation. — On the relations with England, see *Contemporaries*, IV, ch.

tracting parties, constitutes one of the most notable and interesting of all the great diplomatic acts of the present age.

It disposes, in forty-three articles, of five different subjects of controversy between Great Britain and the United States, two of them European or imperial, three American or colonial, and some of them of such nature as most imminently to imperil the precious peace of the two great English-speaking nations.

Indeed, several of these objects of controversy are questions coeval with the national existence of the United States, and which, if lost sight of occasionally in the midst of other pre-occupations of peace or war, yet continually came to the surface again from time to time to vex and disturb the good understanding of both Governments. Others of the questions, although of more modern date, incidents of our late Civil War, were all the more irritating, as being fresh wounds to the sensibility of the people of the United States.

If, to all these considerations, be added the fact that negotiation after negotiation respecting these questions had failed to resolve them in a satisfactory manner, it will be readily seen how great was the diplomatic triumph achieved by the Treaty of Washington.

It required peculiar inducements and agencies to accomplish this great result.

Prominent among the inducements were the pacific spirit of the President of the United States and the Queen of Great Britain, and of their respective Cabinets, and the sincere and heartfelt desire of a great majority of the people of both countries that no shadow of offense should be allowed any longer to linger on the face of their international relations.

Great Britain, it is but just to her to say, if not confessedly conscious of wrong, yet, as being the party to whom wrong was imputed, did honorably and wisely make the decisive

advance toward reconciliation, by consenting to dispatch five Commissioners to Washington, there, under the eye of the President, to treat with five Commissioners on behalf of the United States. . . .

On the part of the United States were five persons,— Hamilton Fish, Robert C. Schenck, Samuel Nelson, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, and George H. Williams,— eminently fit representatives of the diplomacy, the bench, the bar, and the legislature of the United States: on the part of Great Britain, Earl De Grey and Ripon, President of the Queen's Council; Sir Stafford Northcote, ex-Minister and actual Member of the House of Commons; Sir Edward Thornton, the universally respected British Minister at Washington; Sir John Macdonald, the able and eloquent Premier of the Canadian Dominion; and, in revival of the good old time, when learning was equal to any other title of public honor, the Universities in the person of Professor Mountague Bernard. . . .

In the face of many difficulties, the Commissioners, on the 8th of May, 1871, completed a treaty, which received the prompt approval of their respective Governments; which has passed unscathed through the severest ordeal of a temporary misunderstanding between the two Governments respecting the construction of some of its provisions; which has already attained the dignity of a monumental act in the estimation of mankind; and which is destined to occupy hereafter a lofty place in the history of the diplomacy and the international jurisprudence of Europe and America.

Coming now to the analysis of this treaty, we find that Articles I. to XI. inclusive make provisions for the settlement by arbitration of the injuries alleged to have been suffered by the United States in consequence of the fitting out, arming, or equipping, in the ports of Great Britain, of Confederate cruisers to make war on the United States.

Articles XII. to XVII. inclusive make provision to settle,

by means of a mixed Commission, all claims on either side for injuries by either Government to the citizens of the other during the late Civil War, other than claims growing out of the acts of Confederate cruisers disposed of by the previous articles of the Treaty.

Articles XVIII. to XXV. inclusive contain provisions for the permanent regulation of the coast fisheries on the Atlantic shores of the United States and of the British Provinces of Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the Colony of Prince Edward's Island (including the Colony of Newfoundland by Article XXXII.).

Articles XXVI. to XXXIII. inclusive provide for the reciprocal free navigation of certain rivers, including the River St. Lawrence ; for the common use of certain canals in the Canadian Dominion and in the United States ; for the free navigation of Lake Michigan ; for reciprocal free transit across the territory either of the United States or of the Canadian Dominion, as the case may be : the whole, subject to legislative provisions hereafter to be enacted by the several Governments.

Articles XXXIV. to XLII. provide for determining by arbitration which of two different channels between Vancouver's Island and the main-land constitutes the true boundary-line in that region of the territories of the United States and Great Britain.

Caleb Cushing, *The Treaty of Washington* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1873), 9-14 *passim*.

135. "Centennial Hymn" (1876)

I.

OUR fathers' God ! from out whose hand
The centuries fall like grains of sand,
We meet to-day, united, free,

By JOHN
GREENLEAF
WHITTIER,
for whom see
above, No.
99. This was
written for
the opening
of the Inter-

And loyal to our land and Thee,
To thank Thee for the era done,
And trust Thee for the opening one.

II.

Here, where of old, by Thy design,
The fathers spake that word of Thine
Whose echo is the glad refrain
Of rended bolt and falling chain,
To grace our festal time, from all
The zones of earth our guests we call.

III.

Be with us while the New World greets
The Old World thronging all its streets,
Unveiling all the triumphs won
By art or toil beneath the sun ;
And unto common good ordain
This rivalship of hand and brain.

IV.

Thou, who hast here in concord furled
The war flags of a gathered world,
Beneath our Western skies fulfil
The Orient's mission of good-will,
And, freighted with love's Golden Fleece,
Send back its Argonauts of peace.

V.

For art and labor met in truce,
For beauty made the bride of use,
We thank Thee ; but, withal, we crave
The austere virtues strong to save,

national Exhibition at Philadelphia, May 10, 1876, to celebrate the centenary of American independence. The music for the hymn, which may be found in the *Atlantic Monthly* for June, 1876, was composed by Professor John K. Paine of Harvard University.

The honor proof to place or gold,
The manhood never bought nor sold !

VI.

Oh make Thou us, through centuries long,
In peace secure, in justice strong ;
Around our gift of freedom draw
The safeguards of Thy righteous law :
And, cast in some diviner mould,
Let the new cycle shame the old !

John Greenleaf Whittier, *Complete Poetical Works* (Household Edition, Boston, 1879), 409.



I 36. Resumption of Specie Payments (1879)

THE DAY OF RESUMPTION.

MUCH MORE GOLD RECEIVED THAN PAID OUT AT THE SUB-TREASURY — THE FLAGS UP.

DUTIES PAID IN PAPER AND THE BANKS HANDING ALMOST NO COIN OVER THEIR COUNTERS.

BEFORE the bankers and merchants had left their breakfast tables yesterday [Jan. 2, 1879] the city down town was in holiday attire. The national flag floated from every bank, from the Government buildings and the insurance buildings and hung in the windows or over the doors of private banking offices. The only exception to the general rule was at the Stock Exchange, whose bare flag pole poked up into the snow-storm until 2 p.m. This

From the
NEW YORK
WORLD.
This is an
example of
casual news-
paper reports
used as a
source; they
give, with
many inaccur-
acies of de-
tail, a picture
of the actual
workings of
public affairs
not to be had
from official
documents.
The United
States ceased
to redeem its
notes in gold
Jan. 1, 1862,
and had
never re-
sumed till
Jan. 1, 1879.
— On

neglect was noticed and criticised, and finally an enterprising official of the Exchange ordered the flag hoisted, and hoisted it was. The flags were about the only outward and visible sign of Resumption Day.

finances, see
American Orations,
IV, 191-366;
Contemporaries, IV, ch.

It had been fancied that at the opening of the Sub-Treasury rather an animated demand for gold would be developed, but it wasn't. The opening at 10 A.M. was greeted with a salute from the Navy-Yard. Every preparation had been made to redeem United States notes in gold, but up to 10.30 only one solitary individual had come for gold and he wanted only \$210. Up to 1.30 P.M., \$10,000 had been disbursed and this included the payment to one person of \$5,000. He was a burly good-natured man, who was so glad to see gold again that he gave his bag an enthusiastic whirl in the air and losing his balance let it drop on the stone floor. The cord that held the bag snapped and from its golden throat the eagles rolled helter-skelter. He picked them up with some concern, and counting his pile over again went up to the counter and said: "I guess you had better give me something with less ring in it, that doesn't roll so much." The cashier accommodated him with \$5,000 in crisp legal-tender notes and cancelled that transaction. On coin obligations falling due most of the applicants preferred to be paid in currency. Up to 3 P.M. there had been redeemed in gold \$130,000 of United States notes, and \$400,000 in gold had been taken in and paid for in United States notes, so thoroughly has gold resumed its old position. The associated banks deposited \$300,000 in gold certificates and received in exchange that amount in Clearing-House certificates, representing hitherto legal tenders specially deposited in the vaults of the Sub-Treasury. An order was received from the Secretary of the Treasury discontinuing the redemption of called bonds at the Sub-Treasury. This restores the former order of things, the privilege of redeeming called bonds at the Sub-Treasury

having been enforced only when a recent attempt was made by speculators to lock up gold and disturb the money market. For the future called bonds will have to be sent to Washington for redemption. The Treasury officials were inclined to think that the Government will find great difficulty in getting rid of its gold coin.

At the Clearing-House the clearances were unusually large, but in accordance with a recent resolution the gold exchanges were dropped.

The Gold Room was open only for the closing of contracts entered into on December 31. The clerk shut the indicator which had gone to sleep at "100," locked his desk at noon, and announced "This shop is closed henceforward." Not a transaction was placed upon the record book all day. The gold clearances were made for the last time at the Bank of the State of New York and included only the unsettled transactions of the Gold Room on December 31.

At the Custom-House the first payment of duties made was made in three \$1,000 legal-tender notes. The Custom-House officials will continue to take gold and silver certificates until all which are outstanding are in. They will continue to make up their accounts in detail, giving the amount received in gold and silver certificates, gold and silver coin and legal-tender notes. Only one wagon was required to take the coin received yesterday to the Sub-Treasury—usually five have been needed. The total receipts for duties reached \$194,000, distributed as follows: Gold certificates \$30,000; silver certificates \$26,000; gold coin \$35,000; silver coin \$1,000; and United States notes \$102,000. . . .

SOME GRUMBLING IN WASHINGTON. . . .

Quite a number of people came with greenbacks expecting that they would get the gold for them, ignorant of the

fact that the Government would redeem its notes only in New York. A member of Congress from the West planked down a fifty-dollar bill and said: "Give me fifty one-dollar gold pieces." His attention was called to the law, which says that the Treasury shall redeem its notes in sums of fifty dollars and upwards at the sub-Treasury in New York.

"Don't you resume everywhere?" he asked in astonishment.

"We do not," said the teller.

"You ought to," he asserted authoritatively. "As soon as Congress reassembles I will see to it that the necessary legislation is enacted that will compel Mr. Sherman to redeem United States notes whenever presented at any branch of the Department."

New York World, January 3, 1879, p. 1.

I37. Workings of Civil Service Reform (1881)

... **A**VITAL and enduring reform in administrative methods, although it be but a return to the constitutional intention, can be accomplished only by the commanding impulse of public opinion. Permanence is secured by law, not by individual pleasure. But in this country law is only formulated public opinion. Reform of the Civil Service does not contemplate an invasion of the constitutional prerogative of the President and the Senate, nor does it propose to change the Constitution by statute. The whole system of the Civil Service proceeds, as I said, from the President, and the object of the reform movement is to enable him to fulfil the intention of the Constitution by revealing to him the desire of the country through the action

By GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS (1824-1892). Although Curtis was editor of a political magazine, *Harper's Weekly*, and took an active interest in current issues, he never sought political office. He was placed by General Grant on a commission to draw up rules for the regulation of the civil

service, and under his guidance the national Civil Service Reform League was established in 1881.—On Curtis, see *American Orations*, IV, 478.—On the reform, see *American Orations*, IV, 400-420; *Contemporaries*, IV, No.

of its authorized representatives. When the ground-swell of public opinion lifts Congress from the rocks, the President will gladly float with it into the deep water of wise and patriotic action. . . .

The root of the complex evil . . . is personal favoritism. This produces congressional dictation, senatorial usurpation, arbitrary removals, interference in elections, political assessments, and all the consequent corruption, degradation, and danger that experience has disclosed. The method of reform, therefore, must be a plan of selection for appointment which makes favoritism impossible. The general feeling undoubtedly is that this can be accomplished by a fixed limited term. But the terms of most of the offices to which the President and the Senate appoint, and upon which the myriad minor places in the service depend, have been fixed and limited for sixty years, yet it is during that very period that the chief evils of personal patronage have appeared. . . .

If, then, legitimate cause for removal ought to be determined in public as in private business by the responsible appointing power, it is of the highest public necessity that the exercise of that power should be made as absolutely honest and independent as possible. But how can it be made honest and independent if it is not protected so far as practicable from the constant bribery of selfish interest and the illicit solicitation of personal influence? The experience of our large public patronage offices proves conclusively that the cause of the larger number of removals is not dishonesty or incompetency ; it is the desire to make vacancies to fill. This is the actual cause, whatever cause may be assigned. The removals would not be made except for the pressure of politicians. But those politicians would not press for removals if they could not secure the appointment of their favorites. Make it impossible for them to secure appointment, and the pressure would instantly disappear and arbitrary removal cease.

So long, therefore, as we permit minor appointments to be made by mere personal influence and favor, a fixed limited term and removal during that term for cause only would not remedy the evil, because the incumbents would still be seeking influence to secure reappointment, and the aspirants doing the same to replace them. Removal under plea of good cause would be as wanton and arbitrary as it is now, unless the power to remove were intrusted to some other discretion than that of the superior officer, and in that case the struggle for reappointment and the knowledge that removal for the term was practically impossible would totally demoralize the service. To make sure, then, that removals shall be made for legitimate cause only, we must provide that appointment shall be made only for legitimate cause. . . .

. . . The reform . . . is essentially the people's reform. With the instinct of robbers who run with the crowd and lustily cry "Stop thief!" those who would make the public service the monopoly of a few favorites denounce the determination to open that service to the whole people as a plan to establish an aristocracy. The huge ogre of patronage, gnawing at the character, the honor, and the life of the country, grimly sneers that the people cannot help themselves and that nothing can be done. But much greater things have been done. Slavery was the Giant Despair of many good men of the last generation, but slavery was overthrown. If the spoils system, a monster only less threatening than slavery, be unconquerable, it is because the country has lost its convictions, its courage, and its common-sense. "I expect," said the Yankee as he surveyed a stout antagonist, "I expect that you're pretty ugly, but I cal'late I'm a darned sight uglier." I know that patronage is strong, but I believe that the American people are very much stronger.

George William Curtis, *Orations and Addresses* (edited by Charles Eliot Norton, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1894), II, 186-196 *passim*.

By THOMAS
JEFFERSON
MORGAN
(1839-),
Commissioner of
Indian Af-
fairs under
President
Harrison
(1889-1893).
The Indian
question has
been a seri-
ous and diffi-
cult problem
ever since the
beginnings
of civilization
(see above,
Nos. 9, 38,
80). This is
a summary
of the matter
by a man
who had
every oppor-
tunity of
knowing
about it.—
On the Indi-
ans, see *Con-
temporaries*,
IV, ch.

138. Our Treatment of the Indians (1891)

... THERE are certain things which the people of the United States will do well to remember.

First.—The people of this country during the past hundred years have spent enormous sums of money in Indian wars. These wars have cost us vast quantities of treasure and multitudes of valuable lives, besides greatly hindering the development of the country, have destroyed great numbers of Indians, and have wrought upon them incalculable disaster. The record which the nation has made for itself in this sanguinary conflict is not one to be proud of.

Second.—So long as the Indians remain in their present condition, the possibility of other wars, costly and dreadful, hangs over us as a perpetual menace. The recent events have shown us how easy it is to spread alarm throughout our entire borders, and what fearful possibilities there are in store for us.

Third.—Indian wars are unnecessary, and if we will but take proper precautions, they may be entirely avoided in the future. Justice, firmness, kindness, and wisdom will not only prevent future wars, but will promote the prosperity and welfare of the Indians, as well as of the entire commonwealth.

Fourth.—We should remember that the circumstances surrounding the Indians are constantly, in many cases, aggravating the difficulties in the way of their procuring a proper supply of food; and that unless wise precautions are taken at once to assist them in the development of the resources of the lands upon which they are compelled to live, they will be confronted more and more with the dread spectre of hunger, and we with that of war. We are called upon not so much to feed them, as we are to make it possible for them to feed themselves.

Fifth.—The only possible solution of our Indian troubles lies in the suitable education of the rising generation. So long as the Indians remain among us aliens, speaking foreign languages, unable to communicate with us except through the uncertain and often misleading medium of interpreters, so long as they are ignorant of our ways, are superstitious and fanatical, they will remain handicapped in the struggle for existence, will be an easy prey to the medicine man and the false prophet, and will be easily induced, by reason of real or imaginary wrongs, to go upon the war-path. An education that will give them the mastery of the English language, train their hands to useful industries, awaken within them ambition for civilized ways, and develop a consciousness of power to achieve honorable places for themselves, and that arouses within them an earnest and abiding patriotism, will make of them American citizens, and render future conflicts between them and the Government impossible.

Sixth.—Let it be especially remembered that the recent troubles, deplorable as they have been, have been very small and insignificant compared with what they might have been; and that this has been brought about largely by the influence exerted upon the Indians through the schools of learning which have been established, and have already accomplished so much for their enlightenment and elevation. The influence for good exerted by the great school at Carlisle alone, throughout the whole country, has been beyond estimate, and has repaid the Government many times over every dollar that has been put into that institution.

Seventh.—It should be remembered that the time for making provision for the education of the entire body of Indian youth is now, and that any delay or postponement in the matter is hazardous and unwise.

Eighth.—In our judgment of the Indians and of the difficulties of the Indian question, we should remember that

the most perplexing element in the problem is not the Indian, but the white man. The white man furnishes the Indians with arms and ammunition ; the white man provides him with whiskey ; the white man encroaches upon his reservation, robs him of his stock, defrauds him of his property, invades the sanctity of his home, and treats him with contempt, thus arousing within the Indian's breast those feelings of a sense of wrong, and dishonor, and wounded manhood that prepares him to vindicate his honor and avenge his wrongs.

In the late troubles in Dakota, the wrongs and outrages inflicted upon the Indians have vastly exceeded those inflicted by them upon the whites.

Ninth.—We should not forget that the prime object to be aimed at is the civilization of the Indians and their absorption into our national life, and that the agencies for the accomplishment of this work are not bayonets, but books. A school-house will do vastly more for the Indians than a fort. It is better to teach the Indian to farm than to teach him to fight. Civil policemen are in every way to be preferred to Indian scouts, and we can much better afford to spend money in the employment of the Indians in useful industries, than to enroll them as soldiers in the army.

Tenth.—Finally, let us not forget what progress has already been made in this work of civilization ; how potent are the forces now at work in preparing them for citizenship ; how hopeful is the outlook if we, as a people, simply do our duty. Let us keep our faith with the Indian ; protect him in his rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; provide for all his children a suitable English and industrial education ; throw upon them the responsibilities of citizenship, and welcome them to all the privileges of American freemen.

The end at which we aim is that the American Indians shall become as speedily as possible Indian-Americans ; that

the savage shall become a citizen ; that the nomad shall cease to wander, and become a resident in a fixed habitation ; that hunting shall cease to be a necessity, and become a pastime ; that the smouldering fires of war shall become extinguished ; that tribal animosities shall end ; that the Indians, no longer joining in the "Sun Dance," or the "Ghost Dance," or other ceremonies in which they recount their wrongs and glory in the deeds of blood of their ancestors, shall gather at their firesides to talk of the memory of their days in school, and assemble in their places of worship to thank the Great Father above for the blessings of a Christian civilization vouchsafed to them in common with us all.

Thomas J. Morgan, *The Present Phase of the Indian Question* (Boston, 1891), 18-21.

I39. Character of the Americans (1888)

By JAMES
BRYCE
(1838—).
Mr. Bryce, a
member of
Parliament,
and in the
ministry of
Great Britain
under Glad-
stone, has
been a
repeated
traveller in
the United
States, and
is universally
acknowl-
edged to be
the sanest
and most
appreciative
foreign
observer of
American
government.
The extract

THE Americans are a good-natured people, kindly, helpful to one another, disposed to take a charitable view even of wrongdoers. Their anger sometimes flames up, but the fire is soon extinct. Nowhere is cruelty more abhorred. Even a mob lynching a horse thief in the West has consideration for the criminal, and will give him a good drink of whisky before he is strung up. Cruelty to slaves was unusual while slavery lasted, the best proof of which is the quietness of the slaves during the war when all the men and many of the boys of the South were serving in the Confederate armies. As everybody knows, juries are more lenient to offences of all kinds but one, offences against women, than they are anywhere in Europe. The Southern "rebels" were soon forgiven ; and though civil wars are proverbially bitter, there have been few struggles in which the comba-

is a good example of the matured generalizations of a man who has seen things for himself.
—For earlier critics, see above, Nos. 64, 82.—For discussions of American institutions, see *Contemporaries*, IV, ch.

tants did so many little friendly acts for one another, few in which even the vanquished have so quickly buried their resentments. It is true that newspapers and public speakers say hard things of their opponents ; but this is a part of the game, and is besides a way of relieving their feelings : the bark is sometimes the louder in order that a bite may not follow. Vindictiveness shown by a public man excites general disapproval, and the maxim of letting bygones be bygones is pushed so far that an offender's misdeeds are often forgotten when they ought to be remembered against him.

All the world knows that they are a humorous people. They are as conspicuously the purveyors of humour to the nineteenth century as the French were the purveyors of wit to the eighteenth. Nor is this sense of the ludicrous side of things confined to a few brilliant writers. It is diffused among the whole people ; it colours their ordinary life, and gives to their talk that distinctively new flavour which a European palate enjoys. . . .

They are a hopeful people. Whether or no they are right in calling themselves a new people, they certainly seem to feel in their veins the bounding pulse of youth. They see a long vista of years stretching out before them, in which they will have time enough to cure all their faults, to overcome all the obstacles that block their path. They look at their enormous territory with its still only half-explored sources of wealth, they reckon up the growth of their population and their products, they contrast the comfort and intelligence of their labouring classes with the condition of the masses in the Old World. They remember the dangers that so long threatened the Union from the slave power, and the rebellion it raised, and see peace and harmony now restored, the South more prosperous and contented than at any previous epoch, perfect good feeling between all sections of the country. It is natural for them

to believe in their star. And this sanguine temper makes them tolerant of evils which they regard as transitory, removable as soon as time can be found to root them up.

They have unbounded faith in what they call the People and in a democratic system of government. The great States of the European continent are distracted by the contests of Republicans and Monarchists, and of rich and poor,—contests which go down to the foundations of government, and in France are further embittered by religious passions. Even in England the ancient Constitution is always under repair, and while many think it is being ruined by changes, others hold that still greater changes are needed to make it tolerable. No such questions trouble native American minds, for nearly everybody believes, and everybody declares, that the frame of government is in its main lines so excellent that such reforms as seem called for need not touch those lines, but are required only to protect the Constitution from being perverted by the parties. Hence a further confidence that the people are sure to decide right in the long run, a confidence inevitable and essential in a government which refers every question to the arbitrament of numbers. . . .

Religion apart, they are an unreverential people. I do not mean irreverent,—far from it; nor do I mean that they have not a great capacity for hero-worship, as they have many a time shown. I mean that they are little disposed, especially in public questions—political, economical, or social—to defer to the opinions of those who are wiser or better instructed than themselves. Everything tends to make the individual independent and self-reliant. He goes early into the world; he is left to make his way alone; he tries one occupation after another, if the first or second venture does not prosper; he gets to think that each man is his own best helper and adviser. Thus he is led, I will not say to form his own opinions, for even in America

few are those who do that, but to fancy that he has formed them, and to feel little need of aid from others towards correcting them. . . .

They are a changeable people. Not fickle, for they are if anything too tenacious of ideas once adopted, too fast bound by party ties, too willing to pardon the errors of a cherished leader. But they have what chemists call low specific heat ; they grow warm suddenly and cool as suddenly ; they are liable to swift and vehement outbursts of feeling which rush like wildfire across the country, gaining glow, like the wheel of a railway car, by the accelerated motion. The very similarity of ideas and equality of conditions which makes them hard to convince at first makes a conviction once implanted run its course the more triumphantly. They seem all to take flame at once, because what has told upon one, has told in the same way upon all the rest, and the obstructing and separating barriers which exist in Europe scarcely exist here. Nowhere is the saying so applicable that nothing succeeds like success. The native American or so-called Know-nothing party had in two years from its foundation become a tremendous force, running, and seeming for a time likely to carry, its own presidential candidate. In three years more it was dead without hope of revival. . . .

. . . The Americans are at bottom a conservative people, in virtue both of the deep instincts of their race and of that practical shrewdness which recognizes the value of permanence and solidity in institutions. They are conservative in their fundamental beliefs, in the structure of their governments, in their social and domestic usages. They are like a tree whose pendulous shoots quiver and rustle with the lightest breeze, while its roots enfold the rock with a grasp which storms cannot loosen.

James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (third edition, New York, etc., 1895), II, 281-292 *passim*.

CHAPTER XXI—THE SPANISH WAR, 1895–1899

140. Troubles in Cuba (1867–1873)

By
WILLIAM J.
STARKS, a
contributor
to *Scribner's
Monthly*.

IN 1867 the Spanish government instituted a new and onerous system of taxation, which created so great dissatisfaction among both Cubans and Spaniards in the central and eastern departments, that some of the more sanguine revolutionary leaders believed that a combination could be formed between the two classes, by which the representatives of Spain could be easily driven out and the autonomy established. . . .

The more important military operations of the insurrection commenced in 1870, and their history is soon told. De Rodas, accustomed only to the European method of warfare, determined to concentrate his forces and crush the insurgents at once. During the latter part of December, 1869, three thousand men under Gen. Puello, a native of San Domingo, moved from Puerto Principe to Nuevitas and thence took up the line of march for Guaimaro. On the first of January they encountered the Cubans under the American General Jordan, were sadly beaten and compelled to return with great loss to the coast. Soon afterward, a still larger Spanish force, numbering forty-five hundred men under Brigadier Goyeneche, moved directly on Guaimaro. The want of arms and ammunition, and especially of artillery, prevented the Cubans from opposing successful resistance to their march, and they reached their objective point

Puerto Principe is an inland city, 36 miles from its port Nuevitas, which is on the north-east coast, Guaimaro in the mountains, south of Nuevitas.

to find the seat of the republican government abandoned and partially destroyed. . . .

The extent of country occupied by the insurgents is very great, and it is not probable that any Spanish force that can be sent against them can bring them into submission. In the remote localities occupied by them, the Cubans have manufactories of various kinds. Powder in small quantities has been manufactured, but under difficulties owing to the want of material.

Around
Puerto Prin-
cipe.

In the mountains of Camaguey are to be found the headquarters of Cespedes and those of the republican army, and here too the Cuban House of Representatives holds its sessions when occasion demands. The patriot army is subdivided into divisions, with headquarters at such localities in the respective departments as the exigencies of the service will permit. The policy of the Cubans is the same as that adopted by the Dominicans upon the last invasion of their island by the Spaniards and by the Mexican Liberals under Juarez during the French intervention ; that is, of keeping out of the way of their enemy and allowing him to wear himself out in a hostile country, and in a climate deadly to Europeans. But though the insurgents adopt this course in the main, they are constantly attacking the Spanish columns when opportunity offers, and often inflict heavy loss upon them.

The plan of operating with small detachments, adopted by the Spaniards after the futile march of Goyeneche upon Guaimaro, has been continued for two years ; military posts have been established at various points throughout the departments, and expeditionary columns have been sent out. These have given the war its peculiarly bloody and desolating character. The orders are to kill every man in the country, whether armed or otherwise. When an ignorant peasant, a Chinaman, or a negro is captured, he is brought into the presence of the commanding officer, who

questions him in reference to the whereabouts of the insurgents, and then gives a signal to an officer in attendance, who takes the victim out in advance of the column and shoots him, leaving the body to the vultures. If the prisoner is of any prominence, he is taken to Havana, there to perish on the garrote for the delectation of the volunteers, as in the case of Goicuria, the brothers Aguero and Ayesturán. The women and children, when captured, are sent to the cities, where they are ostensibly provided for, but are in reality exposed to the greatest suffering. Every house is burned, fruits and growing crops destroyed, cattle and horses driven off, all small stock killed, and, in a word, the country over which the troops are operating is rendered a desert, bare of animal life and of aught that can contribute to sustain it. . . .

. . . In consequence of that conservative tendency which is the natural consequence of authority, Valmaseda, like his predecessor, opposed those sanguinary and radical measures which found their advocacy in the *Casino Español* or Spanish Club of Habana. Additional troops were sent to him from Spain as they could be spared for that purpose, but still the insurrection continued, a fact which was attributed to his leniency. The murmurs became louder and deeper as the months passed on, and it was not long before the once favorite Count followed De Rodas to Spain. His successor distinguished his accession by an attempt to bring the volunteers into submission. As he succeeds or fails in this, so is his government likely to prove a success or a failure. . . .

To the credit of the Great Republic be it said, that she at one time interested herself to change the character of the warfare in Cuba and to stop the horrible barbarities which were disgracing civilization. Under date of August 10th, 1869, General Sickles, American Minister in Madrid, was instructed solemnly to protest in the name of the President

This policy of dealing with the so-called "reconcentrados" was repeated in 1895-98, and greatly shocked the people of the United States.

Valmaseda succeeded De Rodas in 1870-71.

I.e. Havana.

Campos.

In 1873 the United States again remonstrated against the continuance of a devastating and ineffectual war, and in 1878 the Spanish, through General Campos, offered terms of peace, which were accepted.

against any longer prosecuting the war in Cuba in this barbarous manner. The protest was apparently received in a proper spirit, and response was made that orders had been given to prevent such scenes of cruelty in the future. Doubtless in this reply the statesmen of Spain were influenced by that sentiment of humanity which they professed, and by that advanced liberalism upon which the revolution of 1868, to which they owed their position, was based, but the cruelties and barbarities continue.

To-day Cuba, in its independent relations an outlaw among the nations, stands alone. Maintaining a heroic struggle amid every obstacle, she is confident, as were our forefathers, of that good time coming when victory shall perch on her banners and liberty belong to her people.

William J. Starks, *Cuba and the Cuban Insurrection*, in *Scribner's Monthly*, May, 1873 (New York, 1873), VI, 12-21 *passim*.

141. A Cuban Indictment of Spanish Rule (1895)

By DON ENRIQUE JOSÉ VARONA, previously a Cuban deputy to the Spanish Cortes. The extract is taken from a pamphlet submitted to the Secretary of State by T. Estrada Palma, "authorized representative of the Cubans

IN exchange for all that Spain withholds from us they say that it has given us liberties. This is a mockery. The liberties are written in the constitution but obliterated in its practical application. Before and after its promulgation the public press has been rigorously persecuted in Cuba. Many journalists, such as Señores Cepeda and López Briñas, have been banished from the country without the formality of a trial. . . . The official organ of the home-rule party, *El País*, named before *El Triunfo*, has undergone more than one trial for having pointed in measured terms to some infractions of the law on the part

of officials, naming the transgressors. In 1887 that periodical was subjected to criminal proceedings simply because it had stated that a son of the president of the Havana "audiencia" was holding a certain office contrary to law.

They say that in Cuba the people are at liberty to hold public meetings, but every time the inhabitants assemble, previous notification must be given to the authorities, and a functionary is appointed to be present, with power to suspend the meeting whenever he deems such a measure advisable. The meetings of the "Círculo de Trabajadores" (an association of workingmen) were forbidden by the authorities under the pretex[t] that the building where they were to be held was not sufficiently safe. Last year the members of the "Círculo de Hacendados" (association of planters) invited their fellow-members throughout the country to get up a great demonstration to demand a remedy which the critical state of their affairs required. The Government found means to prevent their meeting. . . . The work of preparation was already far advanced when a friend of the Government, Señor Rodriguez Correa, stated that the Governor-General looked with displeasure upon and forbade the holding of the great meeting. This was sufficient to frighten the "Círculo" and to secure the failure of the project. It is then evident that the inhabitants of Cuba can have meetings only when the Government thinks it advisable to permit them.

Against this political régime, which is a sarcasm and in which deception is added to the most absolute contempt for right, the Cubans have unceasingly protested since it was implanted in 1878. It would be difficult to enumerate the representations made in Spain, the protests voiced by the representatives of Cuba, the commissions that have crossed the ocean to try to impress upon the exploiters of Cuba what the fatal consequences of their obstinacy would be. The exasperation prevailing in the country was such

in arms." It is dated October 23, 1895, and well states the defects of Spanish rule.

that the “junta central” of the home-rule party issued in 1892 a manifesto in which it foreshadowed that the moment might shortly arrive when the country would resort to “extreme measures, the responsibility of which would fall on those who, led by arrogance and priding themselves on their power, hold prudence in contempt, worship force, and shield themselves with their impunity.”

This manifesto, which foreboded the mournful hours of the present war, was unheeded by Spain, and not until a division took place in the Spanish party, which threatened to turn into an armed struggle, did the statesmen of Spain think that the moment had arrived to try a new farce, and to make a false show of reform in the administrative régime of Cuba. . . .

This project, to which the Spaniards have endeavored to give capital importance in order to condemn the revolution as the work of impatience and anarchism, leaves intact the political régime of Cuba. It does not alter the electoral law. It does not curtail the power of the bureaucracy. It increases the power of the general Government. It leaves the same burdens upon the Cuban taxpayer, and does not give him the right to participate in the information of the budgets. The reform is confined to the changing of the council of administration (now in existence in the island, and the members of which are appointed by the Government) into a partially elective body. One-half of its members are to be appointed by the Government and the other half to be elected by the qualified electors—that is, who assessed and pay for a certain amount of taxes. The Governor-General has the right to veto all its resolutions and to suspend at will the elective members. This council is to make up a kind of special budget embracing the items included now in the general budget of Cuba under the head of “Fomento.” The State reserves for itself all the rest. Thus the council can dispose of 2.75 per cent of the

I.e. those
who, etc.

revenues of Cuba, while the Government distributes, as at present, 97.25 per cent for its expenses, in the form we have explained. The general budget will, as heretofore, be made up in Spain; the tariff laws will be enacted by Spain. The debt, militarism, and bureaucracy will continue to devour Cuba, and the Cubans will continue to be treated as a subjugated people. All power is to continue in the hands of the Spanish Government and its delegates in Cuba, and all the influence with the Spanish residents. This is the self-government which Spain has promised to Cuba, and which it is announcing to the world, . . .

The Cubans would have been wanting not only in self-respect but even in the instincts of self-preservation if they could have endured such a degrading and destructive régime. Their grievances are of such a nature that no people, no human community capable of valuing its honor and of aspiring to better its condition, could bear them without degrading and condemning itself to utter nullity and annihilation.

Spain denies to the Cubans all effective powers in their own country.

Spain condemns the Cubans to a political inferiority in the land where they are born.

Spain confiscates the product of the Cuban's labor without giving them in return either safety, prosperity, or education.

Spain has shown itself utterly incapable of governing Cuba.

Spain exploits, impoverishes, and demoralizes Cuba.

To maintain by force of arms this monstrous régime, which brings ruin on a country rich by nature and degrades a vigorous and intelligent population, a population filled with noble aspirations, is what Spain calls to defend its honor and preserve the prestige of its social functions as a civilizing power of America.

By COLONEL
THEODORE
ROOSEVELT
(1858-),
former As-
sistant Secre-
tary of War,
and later
governor of
New York;
second in
command of
the First
United States
Volunteer
Cavalry,
commonly
called the
"Rough
Riders."

The horses
of the regi-
ment were
not taken to
Cuba, and
the troops
fought in
front. Land-
ing in Cuba
on June 22,
1898, they
began their
march on the
23d, and this
fight oc-
curred on the
24th at Las
Guasimas.
Wood
was at this
time colonel
of the regi-
ment, and for
gallantry
here and at
San Juan was
later pro-
moted to be
a general.

142. The Rough Riders at the Front (1898)

I HAD not seen Wood since the beginning of the skirmish, when he hurried forward. When the firing opened some of the men began to curse. "Don't swear—shoot!" growled Wood, as he strode along the path leading his horse, and everyone laughed and became cool again. The Spanish outposts were very near our advance guard, and some minutes of the hottest kind of firing followed before they were driven back and slipped off through the jungle to their main lines in the rear. . . .

. . . When I came to the front I found the men spread out in a very thin skirmish line, advancing through comparatively open ground, each man taking advantage of what cover he could, while Wood strolled about leading his horse, Brodie being close at hand. How Wood escaped being hit, I do not see, and still less how his horse escaped. I had left mine at the beginning of the action, and was only regretting that I had not left my sword with it, as it kept getting between my legs when I was tearing my way through the jungle. I never wore it again in action. Lieutenant Rivers was with Wood, also leading his horse. Smedburg had been sent off on the by no means pleasant task of establishing communications with Young.

Very soon after I reached the front, . . . I noticed Goodrich, of Houston's troop, tramping along behind his men, absorbed in making them keep at good intervals from one another and fire slowly with careful aim. As I came close up to the edge of the troop, he caught a glimpse of me, mistook me for one of his own skirmishers who was crowding in too closely, and called out, "Keep your interval, sir; keep your interval, and go forward."

A perfect hail of bullets was sweeping over us as we

advanced. Once I got a glimpse of some Spaniards, apparently retreating, far in the front, and to our right, and we fired a couple of rounds after them. Then I became convinced, after much anxious study, that we were being fired at from some large red-tiled buildings, part of a ranch on our front. Smokeless powder, and the thick cover in our front, continued to puzzle us, and I more than once consulted anxiously the officers as to the exact whereabouts of our opponents. I took a rifle from a wounded man and began to try shots with it myself. It was very hot and the men were getting exhausted, though at this particular time we were not suffering heavily from bullets, the Spanish fire going high. As we advanced, the cover became a little thicker and I lost touch of the main body under Wood ; so I halted and we fired industriously at the ranch buildings ahead of us, some five hundred yards off. Then we heard cheering on the right, and I supposed that this meant a charge on the part of Wood's men, so I sprang up and ordered the men to rush the buildings ahead of us. They came forward with a will. There was a moment's heavy firing from the Spaniards, which all went over our heads, and then it ceased entirely. When we arrived at the buildings, panting and out of breath, they contained nothing but heaps of empty cartridge-shells and two dead Spaniards, shot through the head.

The country all around us was thickly forested, so that it was very difficult to see any distance in any direction. The firing had now died out, but I was still entirely uncertain as to exactly what had happened. I did not know whether the enemy had been driven back or whether it was merely a lull in the fight, and we might be attacked again ; nor did I know what had happened in any other part of the line, while as I occupied the extreme left, I was not sure whether or not my flank was in danger. At this moment one of our men who had dropped out, arrived with the information

(fortunately false) that Wood was dead. Of course, this meant that the command devolved upon me, and I hastily set about taking charge of the regiment. I had been particularly struck by the coolness and courage shown by Sergeants Dame and McIlhenny, and sent them out with small pickets to keep watch in front and to the left of the left wing. I sent other men to fill the canteens with water, and threw the rest out in a long line in a disused sunken road, which gave them cover, putting two or three wounded men, who had hitherto kept up with the fighting-line, and a dozen men who were suffering from heat exhaustion — for the fighting and running under that blazing sun through the thick dry jungle was heart-breaking — into the ranch buildings. Then I started over toward the main body, but to my delight encountered Wood himself, who told me the fight was over and the Spaniards had retreated. . . .

The Rough Riders had lost eight men killed and thirty-four wounded The First Cavalry, white, lost seven men killed and eight wounded ; the Tenth Cavalry, colored, one man killed and ten wounded ; so, out of 964 men engaged on our side, 16 were killed and 52 wounded. The Spaniards were under General Rubin, with, as second in command, Colonel Alcarez. They had two guns, and eleven companies of about a hundred men each

Theodore Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders*, in *Scribner's Magazine*, March, 1899 (New York, 1899), XXV, 272-274 *passim*.

Written
under date
of August 27,
1898, by
GENERAL
FRANCIS
VINTON
GREENE
(1850-).

143. The Conditions of the Philippines (1898)

IF the United States evacuate these islands, anarchy and civil war will immediately ensue and lead to foreign intervention. The insurgents were furnished arms and the

moral support of the Navy prior to our arrival, and we can not ignore obligations, either to the insurgents or to foreign nations, which our own acts have imposed upon us. The Spanish Government is completely demoralized, and Spanish power is dead beyond possibility of resurrection. Spain would be unable to govern these islands if we surrendered them. Spaniards individually stand in great fear of the insurgents. The Spanish Government is disorganized and their treasury bankrupt, with a large floating debt. The loss of property has been great. On the other hand, the Filipinos can not govern the country without the support of some strong nation. They acknowledge this themselves, and say their desire is for independence under American protection; but they have only vague ideas as to what our relative positions would be — what part we should take in collecting and expending the revenue and administering the government.

The hatred between the Spanish and natives is very intense and can not be eradicated. The natives are all Roman Catholics and devoted to the church, but have bitter hatred for monastic orders — Dominican, Franciscan, and Recollects. They insist that these be sent out of the country or they will murder them. These friars own the greater part of the land, and have grown rich by oppressing the native husbandmen. Aguinaldo's army numbers 10,000 to 15,000 men in vicinity of Manila, who have arms and ammunition, but no regular organization. They receive no pay, and are held together by hope of booty when they enter Manila. They are composed largely of young men and boys from surrounding country, who have no property and nothing to lose in a civil war. Aguinaldo has two or three ships, and is sending armed men to the northern portions of Luzon and to other islands. The Spaniards there, being cut off from communication with Manila and Spain, can not be reenforced.

for the use
of the Ameri-
can commis-
sion for the
negotiation
of a peace at
Paris. Gen-
eral Greene
was in com-
mand of the
Second Bri-
gade, Second
Division,
Eighth Army
Corps, in the
Philippines.

The result will be an extension of the civil war and further destruction of property. There are in Manila itself nearly 200,000 native Filipinos, among whom are large numbers with more or less Spanish and Chinese blood who are men of character, education, ability, and wealth. They hate the Spanish, are unfriendly toward other nations, and look only to America for assistance. They are not altogether in sympathy with Aguinaldo, fearing the entry of his army into Manila almost as much as the Spaniards fear it. They say Aguinaldo is not fitted either by ability or experience to be the head of a native government, and doubt if he would be elected President in an honest election. Principal foreign interests here are British, and their feeling is unanimous in favor of American occupation. They have already forwarded a memorial to their Government asking for it as the only way to protect life and property.

Provinces of Turkey, forcibly seized by Austria in 1878-79. A native revolt in Egypt was suppressed by England in 1882.

Altogether the situation here is somewhat similar to Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, and Egypt in 1882, and the only practicable solution seems to be on lines somewhat similar to those adopted in those cases. The length of our occupation would depend on circumstances as developed in the future, but should be determined solely in our discretion without obligation to or consultation with other powers. This plan can only be worked out by careful study by the Paris Commission, and they should have advice and full information from some one who has been here during our occupation and thoroughly understands the situation. It is not understood in America, and unless properly dealt with at Paris will inevitably lead to future complications and possibly war.

The currency of the country is silver. The Mexican dollar is preferred, and worth about 47 cents gold, but the gold dollar will not buy in labor or merchandise any more than the Mexican dollar, and any attempt to establish a gold basis for currency would ruin any business in the islands.

The total revenue is about \$17,000,000 Mexican, derived about 35 per cent from customs, 50 per cent from internal taxes, and 15 per cent from state lottery and sale of monopolies. More than two-thirds of the internal revenue comes from poll tax or cedula, which is very unpopular. The country was self-supporting and free of debt until the insurrection broke out about two years ago, but the expenses of the civil war have disorganized finances. There is a bonded debt, Series A, \$15,000,000 Mexican, held in Spain, for which the colony never received any consideration, and another debt, Series B, same amount, which was forced on the people here, and the validity of which is open to question. Both debts are secured by first liens on custom-house receipts, but this does not appear to have been respected.

*Senate Executive Documents, 55 Cong., 2 sess., No. 52, Part II,
374-375.*

144. A Review of the Spanish War (1898)

THE first encounter of the war in point of date took place April 27th, when a detachment of the blockading squadron made a reconnaissance in force at Matanzas, shelled the harbor forts, and demolished several new works in construction.

The next engagement was destined to mark a memorable epoch in maritime warfare. The Pacific fleet, under Commodore George Dewey, had lain for some weeks at Hong-Kong. Upon the colonial proclamation of neutrality being issued and the customary twenty-four hours' notice being given, it repaired to Mirs Bay, near Hong-Kong, whence it proceeded to the Philippine Islands under telegraphed orders to capture or destroy the formidable Spanish fleet then assembled at Manila. At daybreak on the 1st of May the American force entered Manila Bay and after a few

From the annual message of PRESIDENT WILLIAM MCKINLEY (1843-), December 5, 1898. President McKinley was a soldier in the Civil War, member of Congress from 1877 to 1891, governor of Ohio from 1891 to 1895, and was inaugurated as President on March 4, 1897.—For accounts of the events

leading to war, see the *Annual Cyclopaedia* for 1898; *Contemporaries*, IV, ch.

Matanzas is on the northern coast of Cuba, next to Havana in commercial importance.

Cavite is ten miles southwest of Manila.

On the northern coast of Cuba, a short distance east of Matanzas.

Second city of Cuba, capital of the eastern divi-

hours' engagement effected the total destruction of the Spanish fleet, consisting of ten warships and a transport, besides capturing the naval station and forts at Cavite, thus annihilating the Spanish naval power in the Pacific Ocean and completely controlling the Bay of Manila, with the ability to take the city at will. Not a life was lost on our ships, the wounded only numbering seven, while not a vessel was materially injured. For this gallant achievement the Congress, upon my recommendation, fitly bestowed upon the actors preferment and substantial reward. . . .

Following the comprehensive scheme of general attack, powerful forces were assembled at various points on our coast to invade Cuba and Porto Rico. Meanwhile naval demonstrations were made at several exposed points. On May 11th the cruiser *Wilmington* and torpedo boat *Winslow* were unsuccessful in an attempt to silence the batteries at Cardenas, a gallant ensign, Worth Bagley, and four seamen falling. These grievous fatalities were strangely enough among the very few which occurred during our naval operations in this extraordinary conflict.

Meanwhile the Spanish naval preparations had been pushed with great vigor. A powerful squadron under Admiral Cervera, which had assembled at the Cape Verde Islands before the outbreak of hostilities, had crossed the ocean, and by its erratic movements in the Caribbean Sea delayed our military plans while baffling the pursuit of our fleets. For a time fears were felt lest the *Oregon* and *Marietta*, then nearing home after their long voyage from San Francisco of over 15,000 miles, might be surprised by Admiral Cervera's fleet, but their fortunate arrival dispelled these apprehensions and lent much needed reinforcement. Not until Admiral Cervera took refuge in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, about May 19th, was it practicable to plan a systematic naval and military attack upon the Antillean possessions of Spain.

Several demonstrations occurred on the coasts of Cuba and Porto Rico in preparation for the larger event. On May 13th the North Atlantic Squadron shelled San Juan de Porto Rico. On May 30th Commodore Schley's squadron bombarded the forts guarding the mouth of Santiago harbor. Neither attack had any material result. It was evident that well-ordered land operations were indispensable to achieve a decisive advantage.

sion, six miles from the southern coast.

Principal city of Porto Rico, off the northern coast.

The next act in the war thrilled not alone the hearts of our countrymen but the world by its exceptional heroism. On the night of June 3d, Lieutenant Hobson, aided by seven devoted volunteers, blocked the narrow outlet from Santiago harbor by sinking the collier *Merrimac* in the channel, under a fierce fire from the shore batteries, escaping with their lives as by a miracle, but falling into the hands of the Spaniards. It is a most gratifying incident of the war that the bravery of this little band of heroes was cordially appreciated by the Spanish admiral, who sent a flag of truce to notify Admiral Sampson of their safety and to compliment them on their daring act. They were subsequently exchanged July 7th.

By June 7th the cutting of the last Cuban cable isolated the Island. Thereafter the invasion was vigorously prosecuted. On June 10th, under a heavy protecting fire, a landing of 600 marines from the *Oregon*, *Marblehead*, and *Yankee* was effected in Guantanamo Bay, where it had been determined to establish a naval station.

On the southern coast of Cuba.

This important and essential port was taken from the enemy after severe fighting by the marines, who were the first organized force of the United States to land in Cuba.

The position so won was held despite desperate attempts to dislodge our forces. By June 16th additional forces were landed and strongly intrenched. On June 22d the advance of the invading army under Major-General Shafter landed at Daiquiri, about 15 miles east of Santiago. This was accom-

plished under great difficulties but with marvelous dispatch. On June 23d the movement against Santiago was begun. On the 24th the first serious engagement took place, in which the First and Tenth Cavalry and the First United States Volunteer Cavalry, General Young's brigade of General Wheeler's division, participated, losing heavily. By nightfall, however, ground within 5 miles of Santiago was won. The advantage was steadily increased. On July 1st a severe battle took place, our forces gaining the outworks of Santiago; on the 2d El Caney and San Juan were taken after a desperate charge, and the investment of the city was completed. The Navy cooperated by shelling the town and the coast forts.

El Caney is a little north-east of Santiago.

On the day following this brilliant achievement of our land forces, the 3d of July, occurred the decisive naval combat of the war. The Spanish fleet, attempting to leave the harbor, was met by the American squadron under command of Commodore Sampson. In less than three hours all the Spanish ships were destroyed, the two torpedo boats being sunk, and the *Maria Teresa*, *Almirante Oquendo*, *Vizcaya*, and *Cristóbal Colón* driven ashore. The Spanish admiral and over 1,300 men were taken prisoners, while the enemy's loss of life was deplorably large, some 600 perishing. On our side but one man was killed, on the *Brooklyn*, and one man seriously wounded. Although our ships were repeatedly struck, not one was seriously injured. Where all so conspicuously distinguished themselves, from the commanders to the gunners and the unnamed heroes in the boiler rooms, each and all contributing toward the achievement of this astounding victory, for which neither ancient nor modern history affords a parallel in the completeness of the event and the marvelous disproportion of casualties, it would be invidious to single out any for especial honor. Deserved promotion has rewarded the more conspicuous actors — the nation's profoundest gratitude is due to all of these brave

men who by their skill and devotion in a few short hours crushed the sea power of Spain and wrought a triumph whose decisiveness and far-reaching consequences can scarcely be measured. Nor can we be unmindful of the achievements of our builders, mechanics, and artisans for their skill in the construction of our warships.

With the catastrophe of Santiago Spain's effort upon the ocean virtually ceased. . . .

The capitulation of Santiago followed. The city was closely besieged by land, while the entrance of our ships into the harbor cut off all relief on that side. After a truce to allow of the removal of noncombatants protracted negotiations continued from July 3d until July 15th, when, under menace of immediate assault, the preliminaries of surrender were agreed upon. On the 17th General Shafter occupied the city. The capitulation embraced the entire eastern end of Cuba. . . .

With the fall of Santiago the occupation of Porto Rico became the next strategic necessity. General Miles had previously been assigned to organize an expedition for that purpose. Fortunately he was already at Santiago, where he had arrived on the 11th of July with reinforcements for General Shafter's army.

With these troops, consisting of 3,415 infantry and artillery, two companies of engineers, and one company of the Signal Corps, General Miles left Guantanamo on July 21st, having nine transports convoyed by the fleet under Captain Higginson with the *Massachusetts* (flagship), *Dixie*, *Glocester*, *Columbia*, and *Yale*, the two latter carrying troops. The expedition landed at Guanica July 25th, which port was entered with little opposition. . . .

On July 27th he entered Ponce, one of the most important ports in the island, from which he thereafter directed operations for the capture of the island.

On the south west coast of
Porto Rico.

Near the
southern
coast.

With the exception of encounters with the enemy at

In the southern part of the island.

Guayama, Hormigueros, Coamo, and Yauco, and an attack on a force landed at Cape San Juan, there was no serious resistance. The campaign was prosecuted with great vigor, and by the 12th of August much of the island was in our possession . . .

The last scene of the war was enacted at Manila, its starting place. On August 15, after a brief assault upon the works by the land forces, in which the squadron assisted, the capital surrendered unconditionally. The casualties were comparatively few. By this the conquest of the Philippine Islands, virtually accomplished when the Spanish capacity for resistance was destroyed by Admiral Dewey's victory of the 1st of May, was formally sealed. To General Merritt, his officers and men for their uncomplaining and devoted service and for their gallantry in action the nation is sincerely grateful. Their long voyage was made with singular success, and the soldierly conduct of the men, most of whom were without previous experience in the military service, deserves unmeasured praise.

The total casualties in killed and wounded in the Army during the war with Spain were: Officers killed, 23; enlisted men killed, 257; total, 280; officers wounded, 113; enlisted men wounded, 1,464; total, 1,577. Of the Navy: Killed, 17; wounded, 67; died as result of wounds, 1; invalidated from service, 6; total, 91.

[William McKinley]. *Message . . . communicated to the two Houses of Congress at the beginning of the Third Session of the Fifty-fifth Congress* (Washington, 1898), 10-15 *passim*.

No. 145 is
by JOHN
DAVIS
LONG (1838-
), gov-
ernor of
Massachu-
setts from
1880 to 1882,
and Secre-
tary of the
Navy since
1897. The
extract is
from an
address de-
livered be-
fore the City
Council and
citizens of
Boston,
July 4, 1882.

145. The Future of the Republic (1895)

. . . OUR beloved country is more than a hundred years old. A century has come and has gone. It is indeed but as a day; yet what a day! Not the short

and sullen day of the winter solstice, but the long, glorious, and prolific summer day of June. It rose in the twilight glimmerings of the dawn of Lexington, and its rays, falling on the mingled dew and gore of that greensward, and a little later across the rebel gun-barrels of Bunker Hill, and then tenderly lingering on the dead, upturned face of Warren, broke in the full splendor of the first Fourth of July, and lay warm upon the bell in the tower of Independence Hall, as it rang out upon the air the cry of a free nation newly born. Its morning sun, now radiant and now obscured, shone over the battlefields of the Revolution, over the ice of the Delaware, and over the ramparts at Yorktown swept by the onslaught of the chivalrous Lafayette. It looked down upon the calm figure of Washington inaugurating the new government under the Constitution. It saw the slow but steady consolidation of the Union. It saw the marvelous stride with which, in the early years of the present century, the republic grew in wealth and population, sending its ships into every sea, and its pioneers into the wilds of the Oregon and to the lakes of the North. It burst through the clouds of the War of 1812, and saw the navy of the young nation triumph in encounters as romantic as those of armed knights in tournament. It heard the arguments of Madison, Hamilton, Marshal, Story, and Webster, determining the scope of the Constitution, and establishing forever the theory of its powers and restrictions. It beheld the overthrow of the delusion which regarded the United States as a league and not a nation, and that would have sapped it with the poison of nullification and secession. It saw an era of literature begin, distinguished by the stately achievements of the historian, the thought of the philosopher, the grace of oratory, the sweet pure verse of the American poets,—poets of nature and the heart. It brought the tender ministry of unconsciousness to human pain. It caught the song of machinery, the thunder of the locomotive, the first click of the telegraph.

See above,
No. 57.

See *Contemporaries*, II,
No. 192.

See above,
No. 58.

See above,
Nos. 59, 63.

See above,
No. 71.

See above,
No. 80.

See above,
ch. xiii.

See above,
Nos. 68, 69.

See above,
Nos. 70, 99,
103, 104, 126
135.

See above,
Nos. 90, 92,
103.

See above,
No. 105.

See above,
No. 104.

See above,
chs. xviii, xix.

It saw the measureless West unfold its prairies into great activities of life and product and wealth. It saw the virtue and culture and thrift of New England flow broad across the Mississippi, over the Rocky Mountains, and down the Pacific slope, expanding into a civilization so magnificent that its power and grandeur and influence to-day overshadow indeed the fount from which they sprang. It saw America, first wrenching liberty for itself from the hand of European tyranny, share it free as the air with the oppressed and cramped peoples of Europe, carrying food to them in their starvation, offering them an asylum, welcoming their coöperation in the development and enjoyment of the generous culture and freedom and opportunity of the New World, and setting them, from the first even till now, an example of free institutions and local popular government, which every intelligent and self-respecting people must follow. Its afternoon was indeed overcast with shameful assault made on an unoffending neighbor to strengthen the hold of slavery upon the misguided interests of the country ; and there came the fiery tempest of civil war : the heart of the nation mourned the slaughter of its patriots, and the treason and folly of its children of the South, yet welcomed them back to their place in the family circle. And now eventide has come ; the storm is over ; the long day has drawn to its close in the magnificent irradiation that betokens a glorious morning. We gather at our thresholds and hold sweet neighborly converse. Our children are about us in pleasant homes ; our flocks are safe ; our fields are ripening with the harvest. We recall the day, and pray that the God of the pilgrim and the patriot will make the morrow of our republic even brighter and better. . . .

John D. Long, *After-Dinner and other Speeches* (Boston, etc., 1895), 221-223.

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